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THE

BRITISH MUSEUM.

ELGIN AND PHIGALEIAN MARBLES.

VOL. I.

36F

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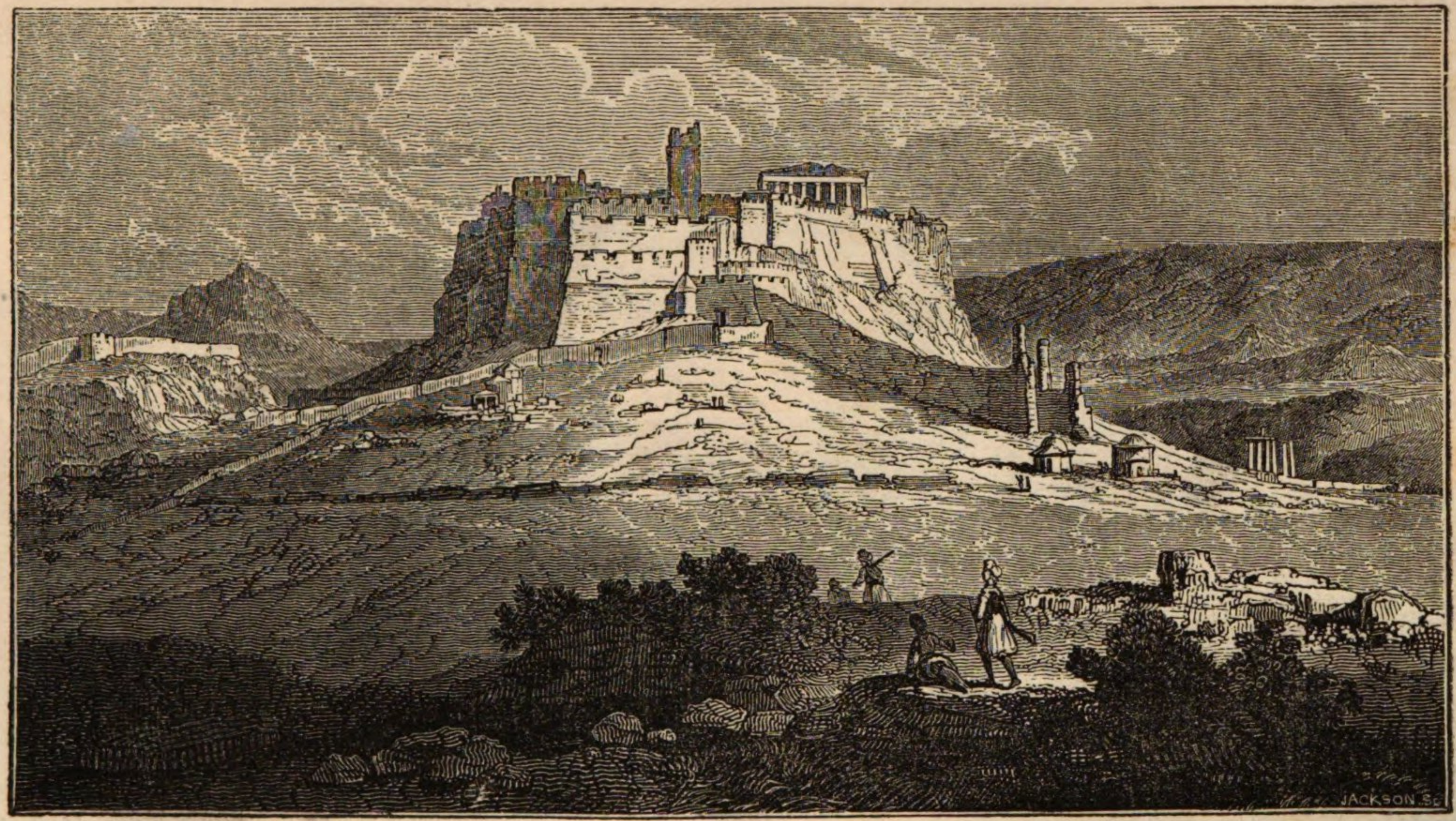

Western side of the Acropolis of Athens.

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THE

BRITISH MUSEUM.

ELGIN AND PHIGALEIAN MARBLES:

VOLUME I.

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THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

ELGIN MARBLES.

Chapter I.

In the summer of 1799, at the period of the Earl of Elgin's appointment to the Embassy to Turkey, Mr. Harrison, an experienced architect, who was then working for him in Scotland, suggested to his Lordship, that though the public was in possession of every thing to give them a general knowledge of the remains of antient art at Athens, yet they had nothing to convey to artists, particularly to students, that which the actual representation by cast would more effectually give them. Upon this suggestion, Lord Elgin made a communication to his Majesty's government; but the probability of incurring an expense of an indefinite nature, and doubt as to the successful issue of the undertaking, deterred the minister from adopting the proposal as a national object. Nothing therefore was done to promote Lord Elgin's views, in England.

In his voyage to Constantinople, Lord Elgin touched at Palermo, where he consulted with Sir William Hamilton, who not only encouraged his idea of procuring drawings and casts from the sculptures and architecture of Greece, and more especially from the specimens existing at Athens, but applied to the King of Naples for permission to engage his

Majesty's painter, Giovanni Battista Lusieri, then at Taormina, who went with Mr. Hamilton* to Rome and, upon a plan arranged by Sir William Hamilton, engaged five other artists, the best assistants Rome could afford, who accompanied him to Turkey. These five persons were, two architects, Signor Balestra, and a young man of the name of Ittar; two modellers; and a draughtsman, Theodore, a Calmuc, of great talent in drawing antique figures. They reached Constantinople about the middle of May, 1800, when the French were in full possession of Egypt. They were sent, however, as soon as opportunity offered, to Athens, where Lusieri afterwards joined them, and where, from August 1800, to the month of April 1801, they were principally employed in making drawings, at a very considerable expense on the part of Lord Elgin.

In proportion to the change of affairs in the English relations towards Turkey, the facilities of access were increased, and about the middle of the summer of 1801 all difficulties were overcome. Lord Elgin then received very strongly expressed firmauns from the Porte, which were carried by the Rev. Dr. Hunt, the chaplain of the Embassy, to the Vaivode of Athens and the Disdar of the Acropolis, and which allowed his Lordship's agents not only to "fix scaffolding round the antient Temple of the Idols," as the Parthenon was called, "and to mould the ornamental sculpture and visible figures thereon in plaster and gypsum," but "to take away any pieces of stone with old inscriptions or figures thereon;" a specific permission being added, to excavate in a particular place. Lord Elgin subsequently visited Athens himself with additional firmauns, and having received while at Constantinople very urgent representations from

* William Richard Hamilton, Esq., afterwards British minister at Naples.

Lusieri on the almost daily injury which the originals were suffering from the violent hands of the Turks, who were engaged in dilapidating the building piecemeal, in order to dispose of the fragments to travellers, he was at length induced to consent to the removal of whole pieces of sculpture, and thus after some years spent in the operation, succeeded in acquiring all those exquisite statues, and alti and bassi rilievi which are now called the Elgin Marbles.

At his Lordship's departure from Turkey in 1803, he withdrew five out of the six artists, sent home what he had collected, and left Lusieri to continue such further operations as might tend to make his collection more complete.

In 1811, Mr. Perceval was disposed to recommend the sum of 30,000*l.* to be given for the collection as it then existed, but the offer was declined on the part of Lord Elgin, who still continued to add to his treasures. As late as 1812, eighty cases additional to the collection arrived in England *.

In 1815 the negotiation was renewed, Lord Elgin offering, in a petition to the House of Commons, to transfer the property of his Collection to the public, upon such conditions as the House might deem advisable, after an inquiry upon evidence into its merits and value.

In the House of Commons this proposal met with a partial opposition. On one side, it was regretted that these sculptures should have been taken from the

* Among the articles added at this time, were the neck and shoulders of the colossal central figure of the western pediment, called by Visconti, Neptune; the forehead of Minerva; and the two heads of the horses of Hyperion; three metopes, the most perfect in the collection, marked 6, 9, and 13, in Visconti's list; twenty slabs of the procession on the frieze; an antique lyre, and two ancient flutes of cedar wood; a bronze urn, with a marble urn which enclosed it; and a cabinet of medals.

spot where they had remained for so many ages; that the most celebrated temple of Greece should have been stripped of its noblest ornaments. The method of obtaining these antiquities was termed dishonest and flagitious. The House was reminded, that when the firmaun was presented to the Vaivode of Athens, presents of value were acknowledged to have been delivered to him. In short, that it was in his official character alone that the permission to carry away these marbles was obtained by the ambassador; and that, as a representative of his Majesty, Lord Elgin had laid himself under obligations to a foreign court, to which he was sent in order to watch the interests and maintain the honour of his country.

In answer to this, it was contended that these objects were lying in their own country in a course of destruction; that the Turks viewed them with apathy, and were even in the habit of shooting at them*; that Lord Elgin went into Greece with no intention to commit ravages on her works of art; that his first design was to take drawings of her celebrated architectural monuments, and models of her works of sculpture, both of which had been executed to a great extent; that nothing more entered into his design till he saw that many of the pieces, of which his predecessors in this pursuit had taken drawings, had entirely disappeared; that some of them were buried

* That the Turks were in the habit of mutilating the Parthenon figures, before the Christians took an interest in the ruins of Athens, is evident from what the Sieur de la Guilletière says in his 'Athenes Ancienne et Nouvelle,' 12mo. Par. 1675, p. 192:

"Tout cela a couru grand risque d'estre ruiné par le scrupule de la religion Mahometane, qui ne souffre aucune figure de choses animées. Il y en a mesme quelques-unes qui sont mutilées. Mais enfin les plus honnestes gens d'entr'eux ont expliqué leur loy plus favorablement, et arresté la suitte de ces debris; et mesme la puissance du ciel s'en est meslée," &c. The interior at this time was used for a Mosque.

in ruins, some burnt into lime, and others either converted entire, or even pounded into materials for building; in short, that the malice of man had done more injury to these remains than either time or accident, and that they were subjected to daily dilapidations and constant ruin; that in Turkey upon all introductions, whether with or without a firmaun, the local authorities must be propitiated with presents; that so far from having brought away these marbles in his character of ambassador, not a piece had been removed from Athens till Lord Elgin had returned, and, of course, till his official influence had ceased. Lusieri continued to be employed in 1816 under his Lordship's orders.

The Committee of the House of Commons, to whom inquiry concerning the collection was referred, came to a unanimous opinion in favour of Lord Elgin's conduct and claims, an opinion distinctly expressed in the Report which was the result of their examination.

They stated that, before Lord Elgin's departure for Constantinople, he communicated his intentions of bringing home casts and drawings from Athens, for the benefit and advancement of the fine arts in this country, to Mr. Pitt, Lord Grenville, and Mr. Dundas, suggesting to them the propriety of considering it as a national object, fit to be undertaken and carried into effect at the public expense; but that this recommendation was in no degree encouraged, either at that time or afterwards.

It is evident, their Report says, from a letter of Lord Elgin to the Secretary of State, 13th January, 1803, that he considered himself as having no sort of claim for his disbursements in the prosecution of these pursuits; though he stated, in the same despatch, the heavy expenses in which they had involved him, so as to make it extremely inconvenient for him to forego any of the usual allowances to which ambassadors at other courts were entitled. It could not, therefore,

be doubted that he looked upon himself in this respect as acting in a character entirely distinct from his official situation. But whether the government from whom he obtained permission did, or could, so consider him, was a question which could be solved only by conjecture and reasoning, in the absence and deficiency of all positive testimony.

The committee further observed, that the only other piece of sculpture which, according to evidence, had been removed from its place on the Parthenon for the purpose of export, was taken by M. Choiseul Gouffier, when he was ambassador from France to the Porte; but whether that nobleman did it by express permission, or in some less ostensible way, no means of ascertaining were within the committee's reach.

It was undoubtedly at various times an object with the French government to obtain possession of some of these valuable remains; and it seemed probable, according to the testimony of Lord Aberdeen and others, that at no great distance of time they might have been removed by that government from their original site, if they had not been taken away and secured for this country by Lord Elgin*.

Chandler says that Morosini, after the siege, was ambitious to enrich Venice with the spoils of Athens; and, by an attempt to take down the principal group of the western pediment, hastened its ruin.

The charges attending the formation, removal, and placing of Lord Elgin's collection in London, including conveyance, salaries, board and accommodation to artists at Athens, and literally all their sup-

* See also the Memorandum of the Earl of Elgin's Pursuits in Greece, 4to. 1810, p. 5. Some of the persons employed in collecting for M. de Choiseul Gouffier's Museum were remaining at Athens when Sir John Hobhouse was there in 1810, having, as he expresses it, "the same views, which nothing but inability prevented them from accomplishing." Journey through Albania, &c., p. 346, note.

plies; scaffoldings, packing-cases, payment to Turkish labourers; transit of some of the property in hired vessels to England, and loss occasioned by the wrecking of one; the weighing up of the marbles, which formed the sole cargo of one of these, by means of divers procured from the distant islands of Calymna, Cos, &c.*; the unfavourable exchange of money; the cost of erecting convenient and sufficient buildings for the marbles when arrived in London; arranging the casts, and attendance on the collection; formed a large and heavy amount, from 1799 to 1803, of 62,440*l*., including 23,240*l*. for the interest of money; and, according to a supplemental accompt continued from 1803 to 1816, to no less a sum than 74,000*l*., including the same sum for interest.

Two valuations, and only two in detail, of the collection were laid before the Committee of the House of Commons, differing most widely in the particulars, as well as in the total. One from Mr. Richard Payne Knight amounted to 25,000*l*., the other from Mr. William Richard Hamilton amounted to 60,800*l*.† The

* Lord Elgin, in the Appendix to the Committee's Report, p. 65, says, "There was, besides the loss of my vessel (the Mentor), an English copper-bottomed yacht, which was cast away off Cerigo, with no other cargo on board than some of the sculptures. The price and charges on this vessel (which, from the nature of her voyage, could not be insured in Turkey), and the operations, which continued three years, in recovering the marbles, cannot be stated under 5000*l*."

† The following are the details of these valuations:—

MR. PAYNE KNIGHT'S.

	£.
"Recumbent statue of Hercules, as on the coins of Croton, with little of the surface remaining	1500
Trunk of a male statue recumbent	1500
Back and shoulders of a trunk, on which the head of Hadrian appears to have been . .	200
Fragment of the head of a horse, very fine . .	250
Carried forward . .	£3450

only other sum mentioned as a money price, was in the evidence of the Earl of Aberdeen, who named

Brought forward . . .	£3450
Fragments of about ten draped trunks, from the pediments of the Parthenon, most of which appear to be of the time of Hadrian . . .	2000
Fourteen Metopes, of various degrees of merit, all corroded, and mostly much mutilated .	7000
Twelve pieces of the frieze of the Cell, with parts entire	3600
About thirty-five more, completely ruined . .	1400
Three capitals, and part of a column, from the same temple	500
Plaster casts from ditto, and other temples . .	2500
A granite Scarabæus	300
A white marble Soros, complete and entire, but coarse	500
Various shafts and blocks of marble	350
Ditto of porphyry	350
Various fragments of statuary and relief . . .	500
Various ditto of architecture	300
Caryatis from the Propylæa, much injured . .	200
Nine broken marble urns	450
One wrought brass ditto	150
One inscribed earthen ditto	150
Inscriptions, &c.	300
Medals	1000
	£25,000

MR. WILLIAM RICHARD HAMILTON'S VALUATION.

"Theseus	£4000
Ilissus	4000
Female group	4000
Ditto	4000
Iris	2000
Three horses' heads	2000
Torso of Neptune	500
Remainder of the pediment	2000
Pediment . .	22,500
Carried forward . . .	£22,500

35,000*l.* as a conjectural estimate of the whole, without entering into particulars.

The committee having ascertained the prices paid for other celebrated collections of marbles, more especially for the Townleyan Marbles, and those from Ægina, and from Phigaleia in Arcadia, came to the resolution that they should not be justified, in behalf of the public, if they were to recommend to the House any extension of Mr. Perceval's offer to a greater amount than 5000*l.* Under all the circumstances of the case they judged 35,000*l.* to be a reasonable and sufficient price for this collection. The act of the legislature by which it was procured for the public was dated July the 1st, 1816. The policy of acquiring it is becoming every day more evident. It is a fact worthy

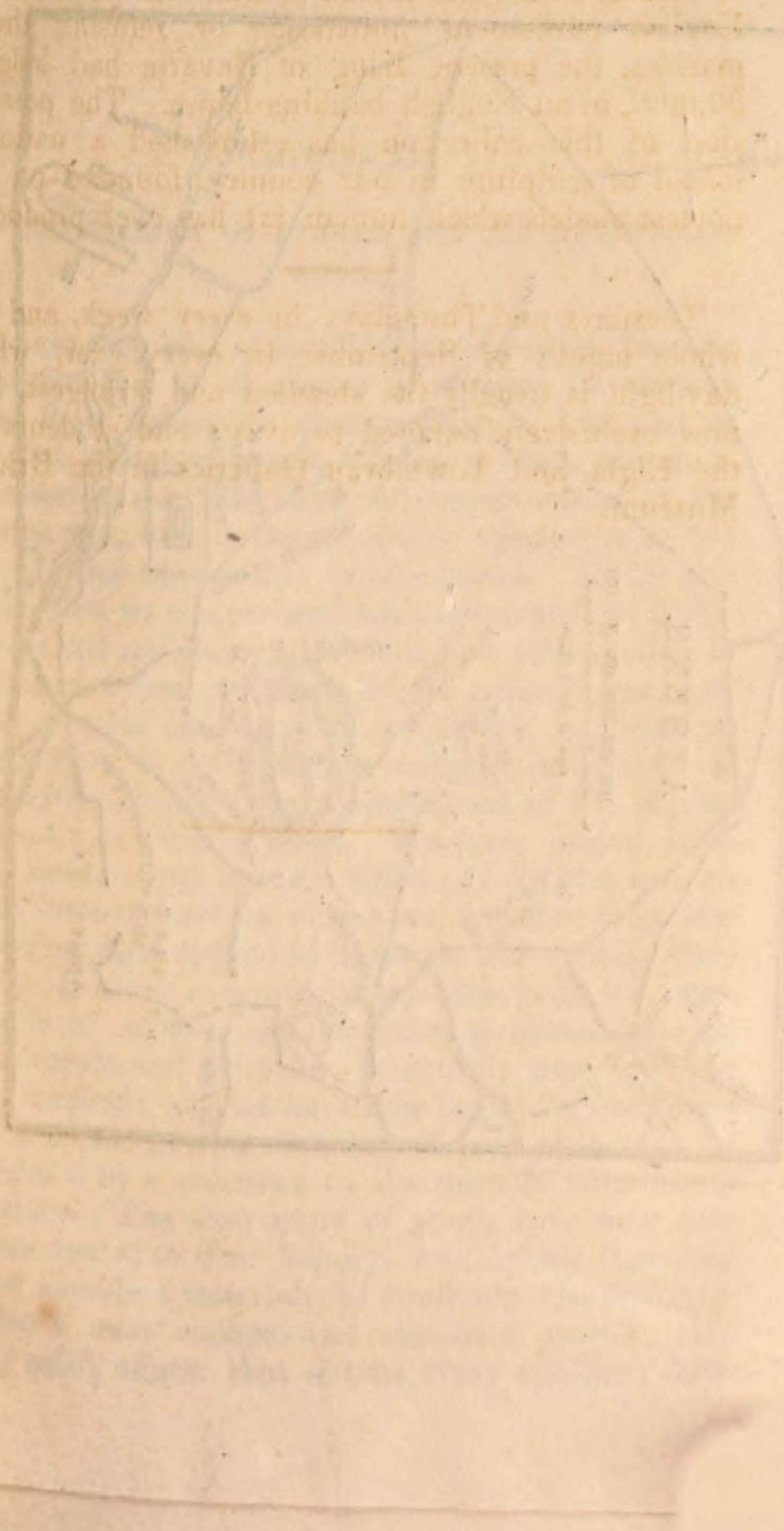
Brought forward . . .	£22,500
Metopes (19)	10,000
Fifty-three pieces of the frieze, at 400*l.* . .	20,300
Bacchus	1000
Caryatis	700
Casts from the Parthenon	1000
Doric columns and architecture	400
Ionic ditto and ditto	800
Inscriptions	2000
Etruscan bas-reliefs	200
Vases from Athens	400
Bronze vase	200
Medals	800
Drawings	500
	£60,800

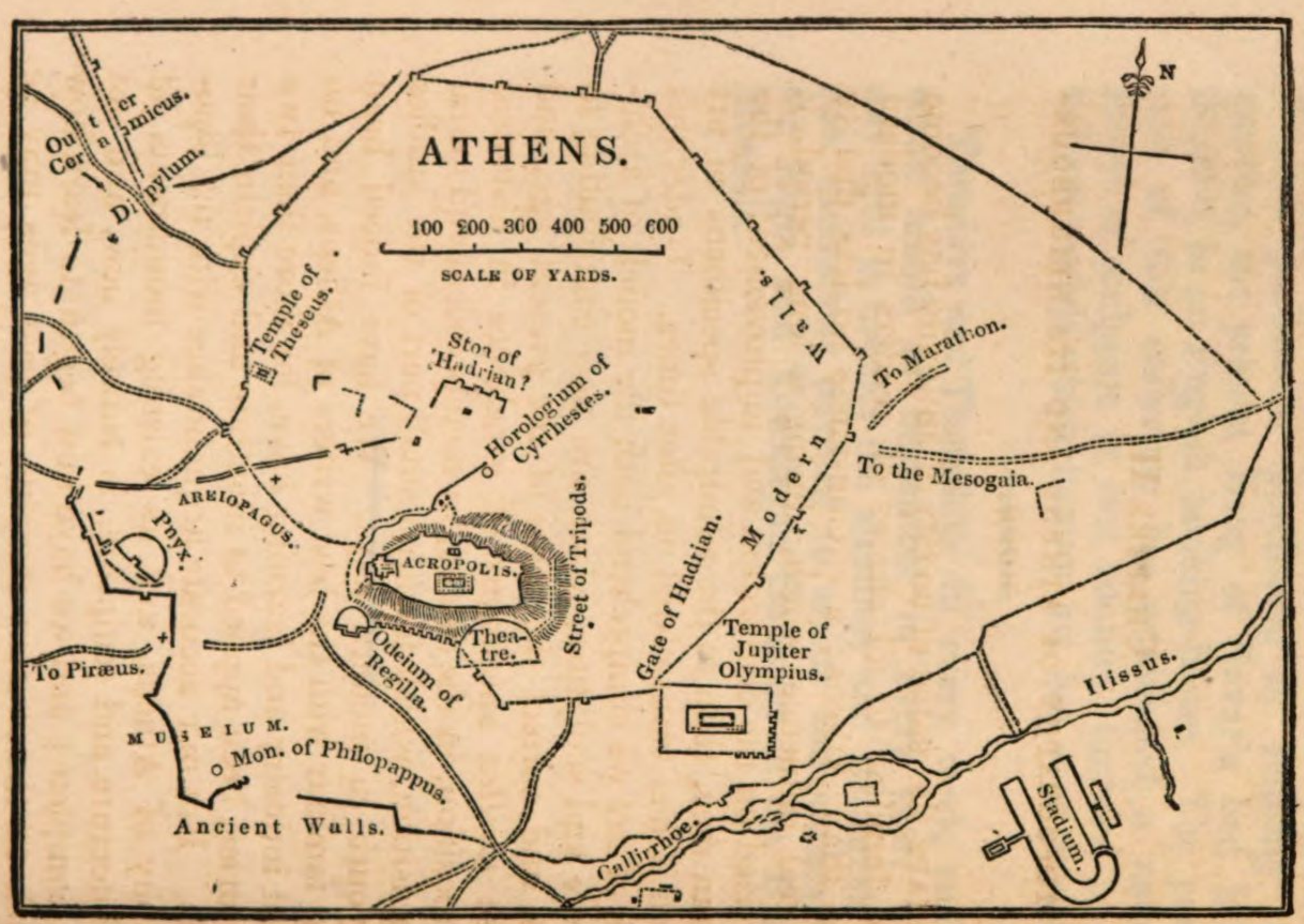
"Articles on which no value whatever is set in the foregoing list:

Casts from the Temple of Theseus.
Ditto from the Choragic Monument.
Sun-dial.
Various heads from Athens.
A unique lyre in cedar wood.
Two flutes in ditto.
Sarcophagus, Fragments of architecture, and sepulchral Monuments."

of record, that, with a view to wait the event of the English parliament purchasing or refusing these marbles, the present King of Bavaria had lodged 30,000*l.* in an English banking-house. The possession of this collection has established a national school of sculpture in our country, founded on the noblest models which human art has ever produced.

Tuesdays and Thursdays in every week, and the whole month of September in every year, when day-light is usually the steadiest and strongest, are now exclusively devoted to artists and students in the Elgin and Townleyan Galleries in the British Museum.




ATHENS.
100 200 300 400 500 600
SCALE OF YARDS.
N
Outer Ceramicus.
Dipylum.
Temple of Theseus.
Ston of Hadrian?
Horologium of Cyrrhestes.
To Marathon.
Modern Wall.
To the Mesogaia.
ARIOPAGUS.
Pnyx.
ACROPOLIS.
Street of Tripods.
Gate of Hadrian.
Thea-tre.
Odeium of Regilla.
Temple of Jupiter Olympius.
To Piræus.
Ilissus.
MUSEIUM.
Mon. of Philopappus.
Ancient Walls.
Callirrhoe.
Stadium.

Chapter II.

THE TOPOGRAPHY OF ATHENS AND ITS NEIGHBOURHOOD.

Perhaps the name of no city of antiquity has become more familiar to all classes of readers in modern times than Athens; a circumstance no less due to the real influence which, during a long period, it exercised on the civilization and improvement of the human race, than to the admirable specimens of art which it has transmitted to after times. Under this term of *art* we comprehend both the models of architecture and sculpture, which are now contributing to form and correct the taste of the present age, and those *written* specimens of excellence in historical composition, in the drama, in metaphysical and moral disquisition, which form no small part of the studies of youth in modern days. We have indeed been long familiar with the best writers of Athens, and no small industry and learning have, for more than two centuries, been applied to illustrate and explain their texts. But our accurate acquaintance with the topography of Athens, and its existing monuments of architecture and sculpture, is entirely new, and not yet complete; and we have now begun to learn how much of the *written* remains of past ages may be explained by a reference to the durable monuments of stone. The instructors of youth have now new stores opened to their inquiry, from which they may draw abundant materials for rendering classical education a more rational and attractive pursuit. We may safely affirm, that almost every addition, how-

ever minute, to our knowledge of Grecian topography and monuments, will be found to throw light on some hitherto obscure passage, and to give a life and freshness to the writers of antiquity, that will prove one of their greatest attractions. Those who read the historians of antiquity merely in translations, find it more difficult to seize the true spirit of the narrative and the character of the people, than one who is well acquainted with the original languages. But the true understanding of many important political events in the history of an ancient country is not attainable either by the scholar or the unlearned, without a clear conception of what that country is,—of its mountains, rivers, climate, productions,—and especially of those spots which, like Athens, were for so many centuries the dwelling-place of an ever busy and restless people, whose intellectual energies have left us so rich a legacy of thoughts and actions. Both those who are obliged to confine themselves to the reading of ancient authors in modern versions, and those who can comprehend the originals, will find in Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, and in the dramatic writers of Athens, an additional charm, when description has made them familiar with the localities and objects alluded to by these authors.

On landing in the now almost deserted harbour of Porto Leone, the ancient Piræus of Athens, the traveller advances into the interior about four miles, through a plain but little cultivated. The rock of the Acropolis, which is constantly in view, serves to point out the site of this antient city; and the first object which appears on entering the gate is the temple of Theseus, standing almost in its original condition, but little injured either by time or the hand of the barbarian. So perfect does this edifice at first sight appear, that it contributes perhaps more powerfully

than any other monument of Athens to call up those associations with which we have been long familiarized. The town was very lately a heap of ruins, and nearly depopulated; but we are informed that at this moment building is going on rapidly in that part of the city which is north of the Acropolis. During the last revolutionary war the Greeks were besieged in the Acropolis by the Turks, who held the town; and while the fire of one party almost destroyed the mean buildings of the modern city, that of the assailants damaged the venerable edifices which crown the Acropolis.

There is one spot in Athens, which nature has marked in such a manner that we recognize it at once. Stuart, describing modern Athens, says, "One principal feature cannot be mistaken; I mean an insulated rock, the site of the Acropolis. It is about a hundred and fifty feet in height, and in length upon its surface, which is nearly level, from nine hundred to a thousand feet; whilst its sides are every where a precipice, the western extremity alone excepted, where with no small labour and diligence the entrance has been constructed."

But the real situation of Athens cannot be well understood without a brief notice of the mountain ranges and plains of Attica. The great spine of the Grecian peninsula, which has a general direction from north to south, divides itself south of Thebes into two main branches: one runs towards the Isthmus of Corinth filling up a great part of the land between the bays of Corinth and Ægina; the other takes a direction nearly due east, and forms a barrier between the rich valley of the Asopus and the less fertile district of Attica. The region bounded by this mountain range on the north and west, and by the sea on the east, south, and south-east, is of a triangular shape; it is full of hills of moderate elevation, with a few tolerably fertile

but not extensive plains; it has no navigable streams; its soil in general is stony, and more suitable to the vine, the olive, and the fig, than for grain or pasturage; its area is not more than eight hundred square miles, hardly exceeding one of our average-sized English counties. Such is the territory of Attica, apparently not highly favoured with the gifts of nature, though the general salubrity of the climate, and its admirable geographical position, concurred to develope the energies of a people who, more than any other, confined to so limited a spot, have attracted the attention of after ages.

The centre, from which the mountains of Attica and the Isthmus diverge, is Cithæron, still partly covered with forests, and the site of many old traditions. Under the antient name of Parnes, and with various names in modern times, the range runs eastward, forming a mountain barrier, which terminates on the eastern coast near the site of Rhamnus. The highest point of Parnes, which is nearly due north of Athens, is said to be about four thousand feet, though we are not aware that any exact measurement has yet been made. This elevated range, where the clouds often collect in thunder-storms, and descend towards the plain of Athens, is in sight of the city; and Aristophanes, in his play, which bears the fanciful name of the Clouds, spoke to the eyes of his hearers when he makes Socrates say to the old gentleman who had come to take lessons in philosophy:—

Socrates. Here, look this way, towards Parnes; for now I see the clouds slowly descending.

Strepsiades. How? where? show me.

Socrates. They come, many in number, through the hollows and the forests, sloping their way.

The more difficult ascent of this range is on the south or Athenian side. Several passes lead through it, which, in former days, were fortified. One, which

is well known in Athenian history, the pass of Phyle, now Bigla-Kastro (the *watch* camp), presents the shortest road from Athens to the plains of Bœotia. It was here that Thrasybulus posted himself, when he was preparing his descent on Athens and meditating the overthrow of the thirty tyrants. From this elevated position the eye wanders over the whole plain of Athens, taking in the Acropolis, Hymettus, and the more distant sea. The plan of an old Athenian fort at Phyle can still be easily traced.

From Deceleia, a tract of no great elevation, but wild and uncultivated, runs in a south-east direction, forming the transition from the range of Parnes to that of Pentelicus, and separating the higher portion of the Athenian plain from the plain of Marathon, which last opens itself to the sea that washes the eastern shore of Attica. The plain of Athens runs in a south-westerly direction, and its eastern limit is determined by the range of Pentelicus, which, with Hymettus, its continuation, also runs south-west, till it terminates in the cape of Zoster. A strait line, joining Athens and the supposed site of Marathon, crosses the highest points of Pentelicus, so called from a little spot of the name of Pentele. This elevation is probably above three thousand feet high. The prevailing rock in the wild district, which connects Parnes and Pentelicus, is a micaceous slate, which forms also a part of Pentelicus. But this range contains also abundance of granular calcareous stone, which occasionally shows itself in the plains. The quarries of Pentelicus supplied excellent marble for the public buildings of Athens, and furnished the chisels of Phidias, Praxiteles, and other sculptors, with the materials for their art *. It formed also a considerable article of commerce, as Carrara marble does now. The Elgin marbles of the Museum collection are from the quarries of Pentelicus.

* Pausan. vii. 25, &c.

Though no antient writer has exactly stated which of the Attic mountains is Pentelicus, it is by no means difficult to determine it with certainty. The name Mendeli or rather Penteli is still given to the same mountain, and to a monastery which stands at a considerable elevation upon it; and the discovery of the marble quarries leaves no doubt at all about the identity of the spot. The quarries are two, and lie at a considerable height up the mountain, though not on the very summit. A rather difficult ascent through groves of olives, oaks, pine-trees, cypresses, mulberry-trees, and myrtles, leads to the quarries along a road cut in the rock, where occasionally marks of wheel-tracks are discoverable. The chief quarry is of considerable size; and the material has been cut straight down, so as to leave clear traces of the workmen's labour. It is probable that the rock was got clean out, as appears to be the case in most antient quarries, and that there was no loss by blasting, as in the shorter process of modern times. It is not possible that cattle could have been employed in taking, down the steep mountain, such huge masses, as we observe in the constructions of the Acropolis (some of them are more than twenty feet long); and it must have been a slow and laborious process to effect by mere manual labour and rollers. These quarries have probably never been worked since the time when Athens was embellished under the emperors: the Turks at least have always found abundance of ready-cut marble in the buildings of Athens for their use, without the trouble of going to the quarries of Pentelicus. Their distance from Athens is about four hours or something less.

The marble of Pentelicus would seem to vary very much in quality. Some specimens in the Museum are compact and continuous masses, while others, especially an Ionic column from the Acropolis, show an

irregular structure interrupted by interspersed matter of a different kind, which, being subject to decomposition, leaves the marble in a shattered state, with a kind of irregular slaty structure.

Hymettus is separated from Pentelicus by a small depression, but its general character and direction are the same. The name Hymettus seems indeed to have been once the general name for all this chain. Its quarries supplied the rich Romans with materials to decorate their palaces, and one has been observed by Gell which produces marble of a bluish tint. The wild shrubs and flowers which cover this mountain, such as the oleander, cistus, a kind of thyme (Satureia capitata), &c. furnished abundant food for bees; and the honey of Hymettus, so celebrated by the antient poets, is still made in some quantity, and is noted for having a strong aromatic smell. Hymettus, which is but thinly clad with shrubs and flowers, presents about sunset, when seen from Athens, a purply appearance which forms a strong contrast with the deep colour of Pentelicus clothed in its mantle of myrtle and arbutus. This range, continued under the name of Hymettus, grows more bare and sterile as we approach the sea; and is in fact a mass of rock which does not maintain a single streamlet. A narrow pass separates this barren ridge from the more favoured Hymettus. Through this defile, and also through the wider opening already mentioned as separating the northern Hymettus from Pentelicus, we may pass from the plain of Athens to the level district now called *Mesoghi*, and by Strabo, Mesogæa (middle-land), which produces olives, and grain. This is one of the three greatest plains in Attica, the other two being the plain of the Cephisus, or that of Athens, and the Thriasian. The southern angle of Attica is nearly filled up with the termination of the mountain ranges running south from Parnes,—a region moun-

tainous, barren, and ill provided with water, but one of some importance to the Athenians, for the silver mines which at one period in the history of the republic were extensively worked, and probably are not yet exhausted. We may reasonably suppose that a large part of the extant silver coinage of Athens is made of the precious metal procured from the mines of Laurion. On the southern extremity of this projecting piece of land we find the remains of an old Athenian fort; and included within the outer wall, and on the very margin of the sea the ruins of a temple of Athena. Fourteen columns still remain of a dazzling whiteness, and hence the Italians have given to the promontory the name of Capo Colonna. The elevation on which the temple stands is about three hundred feet above the level of the sea. It is of the Doric order, hexastyle, and appears to be nearly of the same date with the Parthenon.

The eastern boundary of the plain of the Cephisus is, as we have stated, the range of Pentelicus and its continuation Hymettus. The western limit is formed by another offset from the range of Parnes running south-west nearly parallel to the opposite range, and terminating in the high land opposite to the island of Salamis, which is here separated from the main land by a very narrow channel. This range is traversed by several passes, which lead from the plain of Athens to that of Eleusis, commonly called the Thriasian plain. The road from Athens to Eleusis, called the *Holy Way*, ran over this ridge; the part to the south of the way was named Ægaleos, and is known in Grecian story as the eminence under which Xerxes sat to view the sea fight of Salamis. This offset from Parnes, of which Ægaleos is the southern termination, not only forms a natural boundary between the plains of Athens and Eleusis, but shows also traces of an old wall, once no doubt intended as a still further

protection to the Athenians against incursions from the west. This physical separation of the two great plains of Attica accounts for the old traditions of hostilities between the Eleusinians and Athens, at a period when they appear to have formed separate communities. The western boundary of the plain of Eleusis is a bold offset from Parnes, almost impassable in its northern part; it runs down to the western side of the bay of Eleusis, formerly separating the Rharian * and Thriasian plains from the little state of Megaris. This range had the name of Kerata, or the Horns, which is still preserved in that of Keratia. On the coast of the bay of Eleusis, and principally on a small elevation, stood the antient city of Eleusis, and its far-famed temples. The island of Salamis, with its irregular zigzag coast, fills up the entrance of the bay, leaving only a narrow channel at the eastern and western extremity, while the alternate projections and recedings of the main land and the island, give to the whole expanse of water as seen from Eleusis exactly the appearance of a lake. In no one direction can the eye follow the waters of the little gulf to their junction with the sea. The great temple of Demeter (Ceres) stood on the eastern slope of the eminence, and was once numbered among the four noblest edifices that the Greeks had ever erected in honour of their deities. It is now a heap of ruins, and its site is in great measure covered with modern constructions. Still its general plan can be pretty well made out. In an inner court or chamber of this temple is an insulated mass of stone, with rounded depressions, which some suppose to have been the pedestal of the mutilated colossal statue which was found near it. This fragment was removed to England and is now in the vestibule of the public library of

* The Rharian is a small plain, forming the western part of the larger Thriasian plain.

the University of Cambridge. It is generally supposed to be the figure of Ceres, but whether in a standing or sitting position seems doubtful, and this cannot be determined because it is broken off just under the bosom, and the lower part is lost. Flaxman has restored it in a drawing, and represented it in a sitting attitude. On the head is a calathus or basket, and the whole has so much the appearance of a caryatid figure, that some have supposed that it was one of several which adorned the temple.

Several small streams water the plain of Eleusis, among which the Cephisus is the only one whose name is familiar to us. It enters the gulf a little east of Eleusis, but, like all the Attic streams, conveys no body of water to the sea.

We may observe now that Attica is composed of three principal plains, the Thriasian, or Eleusinian, the most westerly; the Athenian in the centre; and the Mesoghi, or Mesogæa, separated from the central plain by the range of Hymettus. The plain of Marathon, which is of smaller dimensions, may be added to the rest: the Peiraic district, north of Parnes, and along the southern bank of the lower course of the Asopus cannot properly be considered as a part of Attica.

The plain of Athens itself is watered by two streams, whose insignificance forms a striking contrast with the historical associations attached to their names. The Ilissus rises behind the monastery of Sirgiani, on Mount Hymettus, in a pleasant district. Its source is clear, though not very abundant; but the water nearly disappears at the foot of the hill, and what little remains is consumed in the plantations of Ambelókipo (the vineyards), which lie north of Athens, or is carried off in pipes for the use of the city. Though joined by the little Eridanus, the Ilissus, except when swollen by sudden rain, has hardly any water in its

bed when it approaches the east side of the city. Its channel takes a western bend south of the hill of the Museium, where it terminates before it can reach the sea. The Cephisus which flows on the west side of the city, about two miles distant from the Acropolis, runs in a double stream, nearly due south, and has its sources further north from Athens than the Ilissus. Some of its springs are in the range of Parnes. This stream also does not reach the sea, its waters being drained off to supply the gardens and olive-grounds. Between the city and the port it forms, near the latter, some low marshy ground, now the resort of numerous wild fowl. This district, in its present state, must be unwholesome, and probably always has been so; though a better cultivation might undoubtedly diminish the marshy ground near the coast, by carrying off the waters of the Cephisus for the cultivation of the higher part of the plain, and diverting what is not wanted into the narrow channel, which is indicated as communicating with the chief port*.

In their natural state, the Ilissus and Cephisus probably united south of the city, and formed in the low grounds, between it and the sea, extensive swamps, which, in rainy weather, would communicate with the sea. This will help to explain the reason of the Piræus not being occupied as a dwelling-place till so comparatively late a period. The city, in addition to the greater security offered to its inhabitants by the natural fortress of the Acropolis, possessed the advantages of salubrity and a supply of better water.

Athens itself, in its full extent, occupied several eminences, which look more like detached masses than parts of a regular ridge: though they are connected

* See Leake's Plan of Athens and its Harbours, &c.

one with another, they appear to be entirely separated from the range of Pentelicus and Hymettus. One remarkable feature, which shows itself in almost every view of the scenery of Athens, is an eminence higher than the Acropolis, and not included within the modern or antient wall, though the latter approached close to its base. This eminence, now called St. George, with its peaked top, stands to the north-east of the city, and, singularly enough, we are not able to assign, with certainty, its antient name: Spon* and Colonel Leake suppose it may be the Anchesmus of Pausanias (Attica, chap. 32).

In order to form a clear idea of the great features of Athens, and of those sites which may be considered as determined with certainty, we must take the Acropolis as our centre, and follow the guidance of Colonel Leake. The general direction of the hill of the Acropolis, in its length, lies east and west. Opposite the western extremity of the Acropolis, and separated from it by a depression, which serves as a communication between the north and south sides of the Acropolis, we see the rocky eminence of the Areiopagus, or hill of Ares (Mars). Here, according to the old mythos, Orestes was tried for the murder of his mother Clytemnæstra, and acquitted by the casting vote of Athena, the tutelary goddess of the city. The Athenian court of Areiopagus, which took cognizance of such crimes as murder, occupied the eastern extremity of the hill. When the Persians under Xerxes entered the forsaken city of Athens (B. C. 480), they took their stations on the Areiopagus *opposite* to the Acropolis, which they were besieging: this passage alone is sufficient to identify the position. The Pnyx, the most usual place for public meetings during the flourishing periods of the republic, is a height westward of the Areiopagus.

* Vol. ii. p. 93.

and partly at least within the limits of the antient city. Its rude and massy wall indicates a high antiquity, and here we find also the *bema* or pulpit of stone from which the orators addressed the assemblies of the people. Though the hill of the Areiopagus lies partly between the Acropolis and the Pnyx, it does not intercept the view of the Propylæa from the bema of the Pnyx; and with a knowledge of this fact, we may better comprehend the words of Demosthenes *, who, in enumerating to the Athenian *ecclesia*, or public assembly, the great works with which their ancestors embellished the city, says emphatically—These Propylæa—pointing to one of the noblest edifices of Athens which, from its elevated situation, was full in sight of the place of assembly.

The hill of the Museium, which is almost as high as the Acropolis, is south of the Pnyx, and separated from it by a narrow depression along which one road from the Piræus now runs. The antient wall is still traced along its summit, and just within its limits we find one of the few existing edifices of Athens, the monument of Philopappus. This building of Pentelic marble was erected in the time of the Emperor Trajan, and, though Pausanias merely says it is the monument of a Syrian, we read on the inscription the name of Philopappus, a descendant of the Greek kings of Commagene on the Euphrates.

In the south-eastern quarter of the city, between the Acropolis and the Ilissus, sixteen magnificent Corinthian columns, $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet in diameter, and above 60 feet high, are all that remain of the great temple of the Olympian Jupiter. They stand on a raised platform, supported by a wall, the fragments of which show that the whole circuit was 2300 feet, a measurement which agrees pretty well with the four stadia of Pausanias.

* Περὶ συντάξεως, cap. 10.

We may form some idea of the progressive dilapidation of the great buildings of Athens, since they attracted attention in modern times, by the fact that several centuries ago there were twenty-seven columns standing, and several inscriptions remaining which are now lost: in Stuart's time there were seventeen columns. The first foundation of a temple on this spot is referred by Pausanias to the time of Deucalion, that is, to a time unknown. The later plan was probably a much enlarged one, and indeed much too great for the Athenians to accomplish. Dicæarchus, a Greek geographer who visited Athens about B. C. 300, says that "the Olympium was only half finished, but the magnitude of the design was wonderful." This temple was not completed till the time of Hadrian, a period of about four hundred years from the time of Dicæarchus' visit; thus adding one to the various instances recorded of the slow progress of some of the largest buildings of antiquity, and useful as explaining the appearance of other edifices that never appear to have been finished. The conquest of Athens by Sylla, B. C. 87, delayed its completion. The conqueror carried off the columns to Rome, and applied them to decorate the temple of Jupiter of the Capitol *. This edifice in its perfect state was one of the largest and most splendid buildings of antiquity. The whole length was 354, and the breadth 171 feet. It consisted of a cella flanked by a double row of pillars, twenty on each side; while at the front (pronaos), and the back (posticum), it had four rows of ten columns each. A colossal chryselephantine statue of the deity was placed in the interior, and the temple was loaded with statues of Hadrian, —a testimony of the gratitude or the flattery of the Grecian cities. It is difficult to conceive what is become of the immense mass of materials and the

* Plin. xxxvi. 6.

statues, unless we suppose that many of them are buried in the earth. Within a few yards from the north-west angle of the Olympium stands the arch of Hadrian; it formed apparently the entrance to the south-east quarter of the city bordering on the Ilissus, which this architectural emperor embellished, and honoured with the name of *Hadrianopolis*, or the city of Hadrian. On the north-west side of the arch is the following inscription, as usual, in capital letters :—

αἵ δ' εἰσ' Ἀθῆναι Θησέως ἡ πρὶν πόλις

"This is Athens the ancient city of Theseus,"

meaning of course the *north-west* part. On the south-east side of the arch is this inscription :—

αἵ δ' εἰσ' Ἀδριάνου καὶ οὐχι Θησέως πόλις

"This is the city of Hadrian, and not the city of Theseus;"

meaning obviously the part between the archway and the Ilissus*.

Pausanias informs us that Athens possessed only one natural source of sweet water, the fountain of Callirrhoe, otherwise called Enneacrunos. The description of Athens by this Greek writer is so obscure, as to the relative position of objects, that without other help it would be impossible to identify Callirrhoe. But Colonel Leake has shown most clearly, that we must look for this once famous spring at that part of the bank of the Ilissus, which is nearest to the south-east angle of the peribolus of the Olympium. Unless this point as to the site of Callirrhoe is clearly made out, there must remain considerable doubt about many interesting sites in Athenian topography. It appears that the name Callirói still exists, or at least did exist in Wheler's time, and that the vein of water from the north, which is now almost obstructed by the earth on the banks of

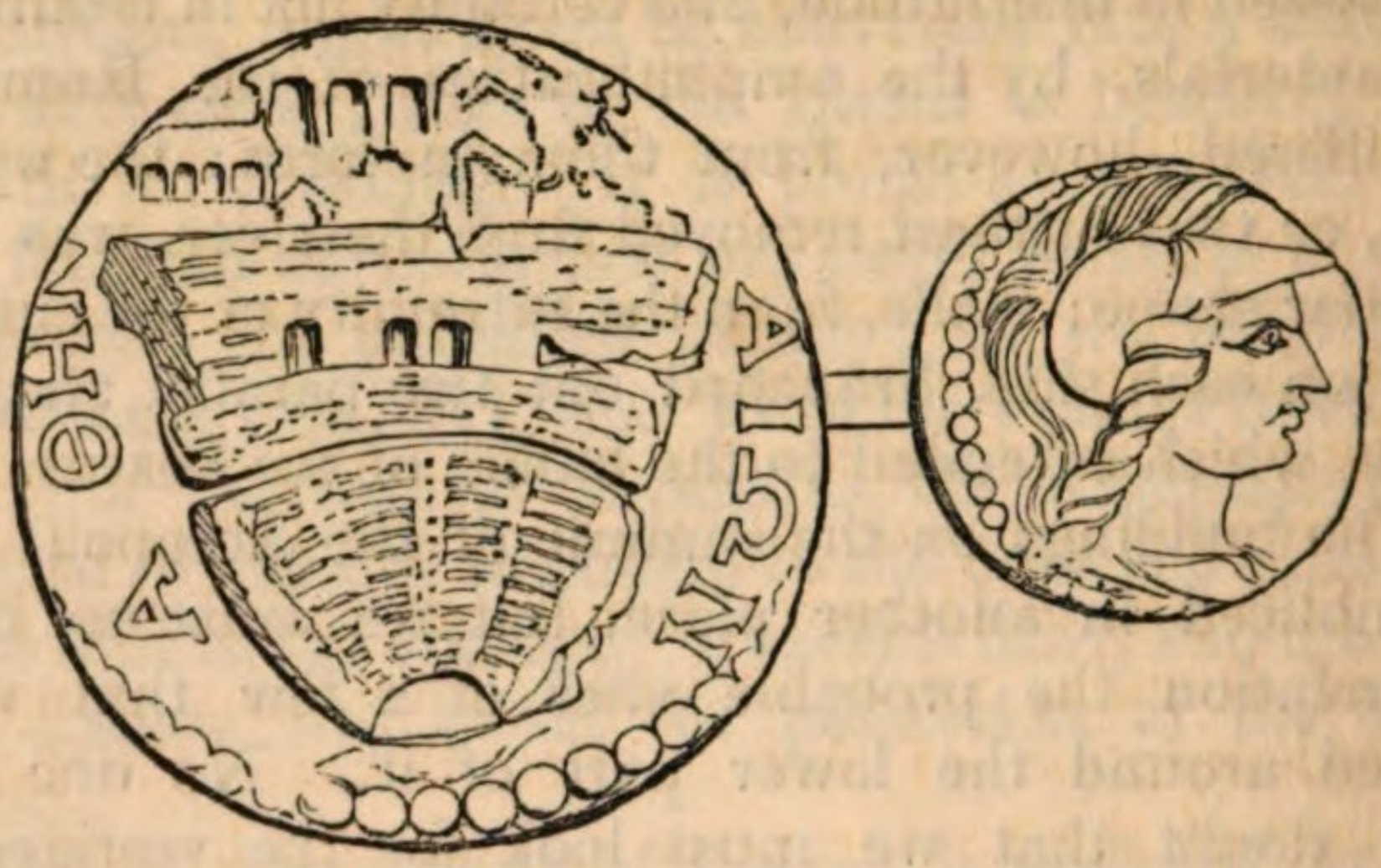
* There is no doubt that Colonel Leake's explanation of these lines and his inferences are perfectly correct. Chandler's supposition about the mode of reading the lines is not worth notice.

the stream, might again be converted into a fountain of sweet water: that of the Ilissus is brackish, and not fit for drinking. It is probable, however, that the fountain of Callirrhoe was never plentiful enough to furnish an unlimited supply; for we learn from Herodotus (vi. 137), that when the Pelasgi tilled the lands at the base of Hymettus, the Athenians complained of their ill treatment to the boys and girls who were sent to the springs. It seems likely enough that the dispute was about the possession of the fresh water.

One of the greatest of the public works of Athens was the stadium of Herodes Atticus, a rich Athenian, who lived at the time when Pausanias was making his tour in Greece. This stadium, which was originally constructed in its present form by the orator Lycurgus, B. C. 350, for the Panathenaic games, is on the east bank of the Ilissus, and nearly opposite to the Olympium, though turned in a different direction. It was formed in the bed of a torrent, advantage being taken of the high ground at the back and the sides, as was usual in theatres and other similar constructions in Greece. The form of the *cavea* or area of the stadium remains, though the marble seats with which Herodes decorated it, at an immense expense, have all disappeared. The length of the interior, designed for the spectators, is 675 feet; and when we consider that the games could be viewed also from the slope of the hills that rise above the stadium, the number that could partake of the gratification must have been prodigious. Spartianus, in his life of Hadrian, tells us that the emperor treated the Athenians with games in the style of the Roman amphitheatre, by exhibiting the spectacle of a thousand wild animals at once. Pausanias, who saw this stadium, just after the embellishments of Herodes, speaks in terms of admiration of the structure, which indeed was hardly

surpassed in magnitude, and certainly not in costliness of materials, by the amphitheatres of the Romans. It differed, however, from them in form: the upper part, or that furthest removed from the river, was of a circular shape; while, from the extremity of the curved part on each side, branched out two parallel straight arms, which extended to the banks of the Ilissus.

The buildings on the summit of the Acropolis will be noticed in another place, but we must not omit to mention the probable sites of a few that were placed around the lower part of it. No one can now doubt that we must look for the vestiges of the great Dionysiac theatre near the south-east angle of the Acropolis. Part of it, as usual, was scooped in and backed against the rock that rose above it, while the extremities which projected into the level ground were constructed of masonry. But so little remains of the building that it is quite impossible to say how far it descended into the plain, or what was the real diameter. In a city, however, where dramatic exhibitions formed so large a part of public amusement and state policy, we may reasonably suppose that the dimensions of the Dionysiac theatre were suitable to the population of Athens. Dicæarchus speaks from the midst of his corrupt text in high terms of this structure: he calls it "the finest in the world." Pausanias describes a cave "at the summit of the theatre in the rocks under the Acropolis," which is still there; and its choragic inscription and architectural decorations prove its connection with the theatre. A statue, called the statue of Bacchus, which was seated on the entablature of the small temple made out of the cave, is now in the British Museum. The hole in the rock is now the chapel of our Lady of the Cave, called Panághia Speliotissa. A brass coin of Athens, now in the British Museum, represents the part of the theatre which is cut in the rock, and determines its site beyond all dispute: we here



Theatre of Bacchus.

see the Parthenon rising over the wall of the Acropolis, and the Propylæa to the *left* of it. Pausanias also describes a street which he calls the Street of Tripods, leading from the Prytaneium to the Dionysiac theatre. "It contained," he says, "several temples dedicated to the gods, on which there stood tripods of bronze, the work of the best artists." There is a monument still existing at Athens which appears to belong to the class described by Pausanias, and to confirm the idea of the hollow in the south-east angle of the Acropolis, denoting the site of the great theatre. It is natural, as it has been well remarked, that we should expect to find the triumphal monuments of the victorious choragi near the place of victory. The monument to which we allude is that vulgarly called the Lantern (Fanari) of Demosthenes; it is now walled into one angle of the Capuchin convent, which stands near the east end of the Acropolis. The inscription on the architrave informs us that it is the choragic monument of Lysicrates, erected B. C. 340, to commemorate the victory of the youth of the tribe Acamantis, at the festival of Dionysus. It is a small round edifice of marble with six slender Corinthian columns: the diameter is only about $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet. The top has a sloping roof, surmounted by a flower-

like ornament, originally intended to hold the tripod of Lysicrates. It is a beautiful little specimen of architectural decoration; and may be seen any day in London, in Regent Street, perched upon the top of a church—a situation not quite so appropriate as that which the original occupied.

The remains of the theatre at the south-west end of the Acropolis are probably those of the Odeion (Musical Theatre) of Herodes, sometimes called the Theatre of Regilla, after his wife. Pausanias remarks in his description of Achæa, that this was the finest building of the kind in Greece, and that he had not described it in his account of Attica, because it was not built when he was writing that part of his work. From this we see that Athens was continuing to receive embellishments as late as the time of the Antonines. This theatre, like others, was a large segment of a circle; the length of the chord subtending it within the walls is 248 feet, which would allow, according to Leake, about eight thousand spectators.

One remarkable little spot on the north-west side of the Acropolis is also determinable with certainty—the grotto of Pan and Apollo, which was situated under the Propylæa, near a little spring. Near the road at the west end of the hill, which forms the approach to the Acropolis, we still find the spring and cavern, the latter furnished with "two excavated ledges for the altars and statues of the deities, together with several niches for votive offerings: the water of the spring now supplies an artificial fountain a little lower down the hill, and is conveyed from thence by an aqueduct to the principal mosque near the bazaar *." This stream was in antient days used for a different purpose, having been carried by an aqueduct to supply the horologium or water-clock of Andronicus Cyrr-

* Leake, p. 62.

hestes, which still remains at little distance from the north wall of the Acropolis. This is the small building now vulgarly called the Tower of the Winds, the reason for which will appear from the following description by Vitruvius* :—"Those who have paid most attention to the winds make them eight in number, and particularly Andronicus Cyrrhestes, who built at Athens an octagonal marble tower, and cut on each face the figure of the several winds, each being turned to the quarter from which that wind blows; on the tower he erected a marble column (meta), on which he placed a Triton of bronze, holding out a rod in his right hand. And he so contrived it, that the figure moved round with the wind and constantly stood opposite to it; the rod which was above the figure showed in what direction the wind blew." The figures of the eight winds were cut in relief, with their names above them on the frieze†. Immediately in the neighbourhood of this monument was the New Agora, or Public Place, in the quarter called Eretria. This is proved by the existence of the gateway, which Stuart first determined to be the entrance into the Agora, and not, as Wheler and other early travellers supposed, a temple of Augustus. It consists of four Doric columns, supporting an entablature and pediment; and the date of its erection is fixed in the time of Augustus, about B. C. 12. The various inscriptions upon it may be seen in Spon, Wheler, and Stuart. On the acroterion there was, as we learn from an inscription there, the statue of Lucius Cæsar, the son of M. V. Agrippa and Julia, and the grandson and adopted son of Augustus. "In the wall of the house which is opposite," says Spon, "there is an inscription of the time of the Hadrian, regulating matters as to the

* I. 6. † Spon, ii. p. 135.

sale of oil." This long inscription which is much damaged may be seen in Spon.

A little distance north of this gate are remains of a very considerable edifice. "When complete," says Colonel Leake, "it was a quadrangle of 376 feet by 252, adorned at the western end with a portal and colonnade of Corinthian columns, three feet in diameter, of which ten are standing. In the centre of the enclosure are the ruins of a building, which now form part of the church of Megáli Panaghia: they consist on one side of the remains of an arch, and on the other of an architrave, supported by a pilaster, and three columns of the Doric order, which are one foot nine inches in diameter, and of a declining period of the arts; round the inside of the quadrangle, at a distance of twenty-three feet from the wall, are also vestiges of a colonnade, and in the northern wall, which still exists, there is one large quadrangular niche, 34 feet in length, and two circular niches nearly equal to it in diameter." It is difficult to conceive that this can be any other building than that which Colonel Leake supposes it to be, namely, the Great Stoa of Hadrian; the plan of which is thus briefly but obscurely described by Pausanias (Attica, 18):—"His most splendid work is one hundred and twenty columns of Phrygian stone. The walls of the building are formed after the fashion of *stoai* (piazzas); and there are chambers or apartments therein, whose roofs (or perhaps rather 'ceilings') are adorned with gilding and alabaster. The apartments are also ornamented with statues and paintings, and furnished with books." Brief as this description is, we can so far understand it, by a comparison with what we suppose to be its remains, as to see that the munificent emperor had built an extensive piazza to accommodate the citizens, and that to gratify their taste he had formed, or perhaps only improved the public library, which was adorned with statues and paintings. We have very

numerous instances on record in antient times of public libraries existing in large cities; a kind of establishment more necessary than at the present day, when books can be produced at so much less expense since the invention of printing; but still we can not help considering the economy of every town incomplete without a public library.

One of the most interesting edifices of Athens has left but few and doubtful traces of its existence, we mean the Pœcile, or painted piazza, which Colonel Leake places between the gateway of the New Agora and the temple of Theseus, and about two hundred yards from the former. In the time of Pausanias this place was still adorned with many paintings, representing some of the great events in the Athenian mythus, and also some of their victories. In one part was painted the battle of Marathon *: "The Platœans and Athenians are represented as just commencing the engagement with the Persians; so far neither party appears to have the advantage. But farther on we see the barbarians in flight, driving one another into the marsh; and in the distance we spy the Phœnician galleys, and the Greeks massacring the barbarians who are hurrying in confusion on board their vessels."

The Theseium, or temple of Theseus, to which we have already alluded, stands just within the modern walls on a natural elevation, and also on an artificial substruction of stone. It was built about B. C. 465, and of course about thirty years before the Parthenon; but its dimensions are inconsiderable when compared with those of the temple on the Acropolis. It is a peripteral hexastyle temple, with thirteen columns on each side, which are not quite 19 feet high, and only about three feet four inches in diameter at the base. The whole is constructed of Pentelic marble. The pediment of the chief or eastern front was adorned

* Pausan. i. 15.

with statues, but the western front had none. The ten metopes of the eastern front, and the four adjoining ones on each flank, are the only metopes adorned with sculptures; but there are sculptures on the frieze over the entrance both of the posticum and pronaos. Unfortunately the Turks have disfigured all of them, though enough remains to show that the labours of Hercules and Theseus were the subjects. The roof of the cella (which is 40 feet long within the walls and 20 feet wide) is modern; but with this exception and that of the two pillars of the pronaos, which have been removed to make way for a Christian altar, the temple is in perfect preservation. Its present complete condition is no doubt mainly due to its having been turned into a Christian church, while the edifices on the Acropolis, which has at all times served as a citadel, have suffered in the calamities attendant on warfare. The traces of paint of various colours on the figures of the metopes and the frieze are said to be still clearly discernible: this practice of painting the sculptures of Greek temples seems to have been very common, and, as we learn from Pausanias, single statues also were often ornamented in this way. The old sculptured metopes of Selinus were painted, and sculptured painted ornaments are also to be seen in the temple of Jupiter at Ægina, and in the Parthenon. Some assert that the Greeks borrowed this fashion of painting the sculptured ornaments of their temples from the Egyptians: this may be so, but we know nothing about the fact. The interior of the Theseium was decorated with paintings in the time of Pausanias, and the stucco which held them is still to be seen. The quarter of the city in which the Theseium stands was one of the older parts, and was called the inner Ceramicus; according to one account, from a hero of the name of Cerameus, but more probably from the pottery once made there. A gate called Dipylum (Double-Gate) separated the inner from the outer

Ceramicus: here two roads branched out, one called the Holy Way ran nearly due west to Eleusis; the other, in a north-west direction, led to the Academy, and thence to Colonos the scene of one of Sophocles' noble dramas, and over the range of Parnes to Thebes. On the road from the Dipylum to the Academy, and without the city walls, were the burying places and monuments of many of the greatest men of Athens, now only known to us from the brief description of Pausanias. Here was seen the tomb of Thrasybulus who overthrew the tyranny of the Thirty, and of Pericles, the beautifier of Athens and at one time her elected ruler with more than kingly power, but without the title. Here also were the monuments of those who had fallen in some of the great battles recorded by Herodotus and Thucydides. Of all these memorials hardly any thing now remains above ground, except some rude masses of masonry, though future excavations may perhaps bring new foundations to light. One small piece of marble found near the site of the Academy, and now in the Elgin collection of the British Museum, commemorates those Athenians who fell in the battle of Potidæa B. C. 432.

The burying place of Athens was not, however, limited exactly to the road leading past the Academy; for there was a burying place also near the gate of Acharnæ (now Gribos Kápesi), as we learn from Mr. Burgon's excavations in this district, where he discovered the celebrated Panathenaic vase, whose inscription has given rise to so much discussion*. There were also burying grounds south of the city towards the Ilissus; and indeed all round it. The Academia, so well known as the school of Plato, and

* Our opinion about this matter might be mistaken, if we were not to add that all further discussion about the inscription must be considered useless by any competent Greek critic. Bröndsted's reading is the only one that is correct, and the only one that any scholar would ever think of giving.

as having given a long enduring name to a sect of antient philosophers, was about a mile from the Dipylum, and in rather a low and unhealthy situation. It still retains the name of Akadhimía. In antient days it was surrounded by an enclosure; and its shady groves of the olive and majestic platanus afforded a cool retreat from the heats of summer. A few rivulets from Mount Anchesmus terminate here in the lowest part of the plain, and are drawn off for irrigation.

We have endeavoured to give such a general view of the existing monuments of Athens (except those on the Acropolis), and of those sites which are identified with tolerable certainty, as will enable the reader to form a more correct idea of the topography of this city, and understand any subsequent allusion to it. A more minute knowledge may be obtained from Colonel Leake's work, which we recommend to young classical students, if they wish to understand what they are reading about. Such a work as this, carefully read in connection with the original passages referred to, and together with the whole of Pausanias' description of Attica, will render those studies more attractive, which are now often only disagreeable.

It will be necessary to make a few remarks on the city walls and the ports of Athens, in order to complete this sketch. The ports of Athens were three: the Piræus, the largest and most westerly, which itself was subdivided into three havens; the Munychia; and Phalerum. The names of the three harbours of Piræus were Zea, Aphrodisium, and Cantharus, but it is impossible to identify them with certainty: Aphrodisium was probably the middle and largest of them. The Piræus was first enclosed by a wall in the archonship of Themistocles, but was not secured completely against attack till the second year of the Peleponnesian war, B. C. 430. Its Italian name of Porto Leone is derived from a colossal white lion,

which Spon* describes as "a beautiful marble lion, 10 feet high, three times the size of life, and placed on the shore at the extremity of the port. It is in a sitting posture, with the head elevated, and pierced with a hole which corresponds to the throat, and the mark of a pipe which ran along the back showing that it once served as a fountain." The modern Greeks call the Piræus, Port Dhráko, having changed the specific signification of drakon, *a snake*, into the general† one of *monster*. The lion is now at Venice.

Munychia is a rounded peninsula, projecting into the sea. The small port of Munychia is on the north-east side of the peninsula, and makes, with the opposite central port of the Piræus, a narrow isthmus. In the centre of the Munychia there rises a small eminence, serving the purpose of a citadel; all the coast of this little peninsula is steep, and well adapted to the kind of defence which the Athenians threw round it. This consisted of a wall about 60 feet high, built of large square stones, and furnished with towers, some of which may still be traced. The rampart ran all round Munychia, close on the margin of the sea. The Phalerum, now *Porto Phanari*, is another port east of the Munychia, and still smaller. When the fortifications of the Piræus, Munychia, and Phalerum were finished, all these three ports were completely surrounded by walls, which defended them both on the land and sea side; thus forming a large commercial town, quite distinct from Athens, and perhaps almost as populous. It appears also, both from the present appearance of the localities and the notices of antient writers, that the outworks of the Piræus consisted of several walls, that the narrow isthmus of the Munychia was also crossed by a wall which converted this little peninsula into a strong and commanding fortress, and that another wall, still further from the sea, ran from the Phalerum to the head of the centra

* II. 176. † Leake's Athens, p. 309.

harbour of Piræus, thus making a complicated system of defences, of which the Munychia was the last place of retreat. The town thus formed of three distinct parts was sometimes called by the general name of Piræus; it contained temples, theatres, arsenals, bazaars, corn-warehouses, &c., traces of which are here and there seen. It requires but little imagination to picture to ourselves the busy scene which this spot must have exhibited, when Athens was at the head of a number of subject states, and the commerce of the Ægean and the Black Sea sought its harbours; or when the ill-fated expedition left the Piræus for the conquest of Sicily, accompanied by the wishes and prayers* of crowds assembled on the shore.

The Piræus or maritime city was connected with the *Asty*, as Athens was sometimes called, by long walls of masonry. The space included between these walls, which was about six thousand yards in length and not quite two hundred in breadth, formed almost another city; at least a considerable part of it was inhabited, and probably there was something like a continuous street from the city to the Piræus. These walls were commenced soon after the battle of Eurymedon, B. C. 470; and we know from Thucydides that they were not completed till after the battle of Tanagra, B. C. 458. There seems to be some reason for thinking that the northern wall (that which ran down to the Piræus) was completed before the southern wall which ran to the Phalerum; and this may help to explain a difficulty in the brief notice of Thucydides. This writer, an Athenian and a contemporary, says, "that the length of the Phaleric wall, up to the wall of the city, was 35 stadia; and the length of the long walls, reaching from the city to the Piræus, was 40 stadia; and that the outer

* Thucyd. vi. 32.

of these walls was guarded." Here we have three walls mentioned—one 35 stadia long, running to the Piræus; and two 40 stadia long, running to the Piræus. There are still traces of *two* walls, which are most distinctly seen as we approach the sea in going from the city: the foundations of the northern wall are formed of large squared stones, and are about 12 feet thick. "Running precisely parallel to these," says Colonel Leake, "at the distance of five hundred and fifty feet, are seen the foundations of the southern long wall." Thus it appears that the assertion of Thucydides is not borne out by an examination of the localities, and Colonel Leake is therefore inclined to consider it a mere carelessness of expression. We are however not of this opinion, and we believe that there were two walls separated probably by a very narrow interval, merely wide enough for a road, and connecting the Piræus with the city. If the Piraic wall or walls be supposed to have been built before the Phaleric, this will render the existence of a previous double wall more probable. If this supposition be correct, the wall which Pericles is said by Plato in his Gorgias to have recommended the citizens to build, will be the Phaleric; and it may have been erected at the distance of about 600 feet from the other walls, not only with the view of taking in the Phalerum and Munychia, but also in order to allow room between them for houses. The long walls were demolished at the close of the Peloponnesian war, B. C. 404, and restored by Conon after the battle of Cnidos; but it is difficult to suppose that the Piraic wall was totally demolished, and it is not at all unlikely that the remains of the adjacent interior and weaker wall might have been used for repairing the stronger outwork*.

*It is impossible to discuss this question fully in a popular work, and we must therefore refer to Colonel Leake's Topo-

The traces of the walls round the city, according to Colonel Leake, are only apparent on the south and west sides, and the space occupied by them can therefore only be inferred from the data of antient writers and other considerations. The following data as to the circuit of the city and the length of the other walls are from Thucydides:—

	Stadia.
The whole circuit of the city walls, not including the space between the two points where the long walls abutted on the city walls	43
The Piraic long walls	40
The Phaleric wall	35
The whole circuit of the three ports both on the land and sea side	60
	178

If from this we deduct with Colonel Leake the length between the two points where the Piraic and Phaleric walls joined the maritime fortifications, we shall have the whole length of the walls which enclosed the city, the intermediate space, and the sea-ports. The distance between the junction of the long walls with the Piraic and Phaleric fortifications, Colonel Leake found by measurement to be 700 English yards, or about three and a half stadia, by subtracting which from 178 we shall reduce the length of the actually *enclosing* walls to 174½ stadia, or somewhat more than 19 English miles. When

graphy, p. 354, &c. We contend for the strict interpretation of Thucydides' words; otherwise we must assign a less value to the general authority of that writer than those who have carefully studied him will be willing to do. At the same time we must admit that the terms in which many other writers speak of the long walls are such as would fairly lead us to conclude there were only two. As to the τὸ διαμέσου τεῖχος of Plato, Colonel Leake's explanation of this phrase is perfectly correct, and indeed the only one fairly reconcilable with the proper usage of these words. Kruse (Hellas Dargestellt, i. 153) seems very well satisfied with his own explanation of the τὸ διαμέσου τεῖχος, which is perfectly original.

we consider that this enclosure in some parts, as for instance in the Piraic wall, was 12 feet thick, and round the outer edge of the Munychian peninsula, 60 feet high, we may form some conception of the prodigious labour requisite to the defence of an antient city according to the military system of that time. The circuit of Rome is stated at 23 Roman miles and 200 paces (Plin. iii. 5)* in the time of Vespasian, and at 21 Roman miles at the time of the first invasion of the Goths. But owing to the form of Athens, which consisted of two circular enclosures united by two long legs (as the long walls were often called), the space actually enclosed must not be estimated from the periphery of the walls. Still it was a prodigious undertaking, and the necessity for such an expensive work is a striking testimony to the evils attendant on a continued state of warfare, aggravated, as such evils would necessarily be, by an imperfect state of military science.

This brief sketch of the localities of the most important edifices of Athens may enable the general reader to refer the sculptures of the Museum to the buildings which they once embellished, and thus form a much better idea of their real character and use.

Of the buildings of Athens from which the marbles, fragments, and casts from bas-reliefs were taken, under Lord Elgin's direction, the Parthenon, the Erectheium, the Propylæa, the Cell of Pandrosus, the temples of Theseus and Aglauros, the theatre of Bacchus, and the choragic monuments of Lysicrates and Thrasyllus, are the chief. There are numerous marbles in the collection which were found in Athens, but without the particular specification of the spot; some from other parts of Greece, and some which have no appropriate localities of particular country affixed to them.

* The numbers in the text of Pliny vary in the editions, and little dependance can be placed on them.

Chapter III.

THE HISTORY OF ATHENS.

The history of Athens only belongs to the subject of the present work so far as it is connected with the history of its public edifices, and a brief notice of the purposes for which they were designed. That part of Athenian history which is called fabulous, contains, like the fabulous history of other countries, the elements of civilization and the origin of political communities, and religious systems. The scattered indications of a very early connection between Greece and Egypt, are numerous enough to induce a kind of opinion that Athena, the tutelary deity of Athens, had a Libyan origin; but we do not therefore assert that the Egyptian Neith is the Athenian Minerva. The name of Cecrops, wherever it originated, was preserved by local tradition and local name to the latest period in the history of Athens, and to this word was attached the vague idea of the commencement of Attic civilization. Erectheus, otherwise called Ericthonius, was the son of Earth; and his father, if he had one, was Poseidon (Neptune), the ruler of the sea. He is posterior to Cecrops, and figures in the Athenian mythus as the personification of a deity subordinate indeed to Athena, but one of those who were among the earliest established in the possession of determinate honours. If the passage in the Iliad (ii. 546) be genuine, his temple on the Acropolis was believed by the writer of the Iliad to be older than the war of Troy. Though it

was burnt in the Persian invasion (B. C. 480), it was immediately restored, and the Erectheium forms at the present day one of the ruined monuments of the Acropolis. The Erectheium was associated with the old temple of Athena Polias, or Athena the guardian of the city; an indication of the union of two kinds of religious worship, and of two people. Poseidon, the god of the Ionians, contended with Athena for the possession of the country; the testimonies of the contest were, according to Herodotus, preserved in the Erectheium, the temple of the son of Poseidon: the olive-tree was the token of Athena, and the spring of brackish water the type of Poseidon. This olive-tree was burnt to the stump by the Persians, but its innate powers produced two days afterwards a shoot of the length of a foot and a half (Herod. viii. 55).

Almost every state or nation has its hero, whom after ages celebrate in song, by tradition, or by legends assuming the form of history. It is thus that the great events which determine the commencement of a new period in social existence are gradually divested of their complicated shapes, and reduced to the simpler element of an individual. The exploits of an army are thus represented by the name of the commander, and the history of a nation is swallowed up in the personal adventures of its monarch. It is the same thing whether time or distance be the medium through which we view events: a distant country is represented by its capital; or sometimes a single name misunderstood, or not understood at all, is the only connecting link between millions of the human race. Theseus is the last of the mythic personages of Attica: between him and the commencement of the true historical period there is as usual a vacancy, in which the absence of well-attested facts is supplied by a few traditions of no very definite character.

Thucydides speaks of Theseus as of a real personage who united the communities of Attica in one body, and gave to scattered societies somewhat of a national consistency. But it would be contrary to all probability to suppose that the mass which assumed the name of Athenians were all of one stock. The physical divisions of Attica, as they are described in a preceding chapter, render it probable that various nations inhabited this rocky peninsula. The plain of Eleusis formed, according to tradition, the residence of a community independent of that in the plain of Athens; and, accordingly, we have a tradition of an Erectheus, sometimes called the second of the name, fighting with the Thracian colony of Eleusis, headed by Eumolpus. We also find in Herodotus (i. 30) an old story of Tellus, the happy Athenian, who died in battle against the people of Eleusis. We conceive it probable then that Attica contained several people of different stocks, and with different religious systems, who became blended under the common name of Athenians from the predominance of the inhabitants of the Athenian plain. Theseus, the son of Ægeus, who is said to have given this social unity to the scattered members of the Attic plains was prior to the war of Troy; he was the friend of Hercules and Pirithous; and Nestor, when a young man (Il. i. 265), enjoyed the privilege of seeing those mighty heroes, Pirithous, Cæneus, Polyphemos, and Theseus, with whose supernatural prowess he contrasts the feebler powers of the generation, who went to the second war of Troy. The old orator does not mention Hercules in the same company with the worthies just enumerated, though Hercules, as we learn from other authorities, was a sworn friend of the Athenian hero. Plutarch, in his life of Theseus, has collected nearly all that tradition had transmitted to later times of his virtues and warlike deeds. But we know of

no temple that was erected in honour of Theseus before the existing edifice that bears his name; and this was not raised till after the close of the Persian wars, when Cimon transported his bones to Athens from the rocky island of Scyros, where he had died in exile. The fact of Cimon removing some bones to Athens can hardly be doubted: at least the event belongs to an epoch (about B. C. 465) when other facts, which would attract less attention than this, are admitted on authority not much stronger than this story of Plutarch and Pausanias. It would seem not improbable that it was with some view of attracting the people of Attica to complete and embellish their ruined metropolis, that a prudent statesman formed the idea of recurring to the traditional origin of their social system, and of making the revival of the name of Theseus serviceable to some project of more importance. The Panathenaic festival which had been instituted by Theseus when the separate communities of Athens were united under one tutelary deity, Athena, had indeed, as we learn from the history of Hippias (Thucyd. i. 20), been continued as the great national festival. This however must have been interrupted during the Persian wars, and was probably neglected till the return of peace, security, and increasing wealth led to the celebration of the festival in its antient splendour, and the revival of the memory of Theseus by building his temple (B. C. 465). At a somewhat later period we may suppose that additional splendour was given to this festival, as the representation of it forms the subject of the frieze of the Parthenon, which will be the subject of a separate chapter.

It is impossible to avoid making a comparison, or rather pointing out a contrast, between the historical sculptures of the Egyptian temples and those which decorated the public edifices of Athens. The great

events of Egyptian history are associated with the name of a Rhamses or Sesostris, and the exploits of the hero are cut in almost imperishable forms on the massive structures of the Theban edifices, or painted in hardly less durable colours on the interior of tombs and temples. But though these works of art undoubtedly belong to a much more remote period than any thing of which Athens has preserved a trace, a large part of them represent, *not* the unsubstantial and obscure image of mythic history, but the events of actual life and the scenes of real war. We see human figures carefully represented in appropriate costume, and nations distinguished by characteristic differences; *here*, at least, no monstrous form or combinations meet the eye; every thing looks like the picture of truth. In the sculptures and paintings of the temple of Theseus there were both the possible and the impossible: there were his combats with robbers, with the wild bull of Marathon, and the boar of Crommyon; and his contests with the warlike Amazons who invaded Attica, and the combats of the Centaurs and the Lapithæ, one of the favourite subjects of antient art. But we have no extant work of art relating to Theseus, and none, we believe, described by Pausanias, which is altogether free from the shadowy colouring of the mythus.

In the war of Troy we find fifty Athenian ships enumerated under the command of Menestheus, but the Athenians are never mentioned in the other parts of the Iliad, as distinguishing themselves above the rest by any acts of valour: they are merged in the more general name of Achæi, Danai, and Argeii; even the Myrmidones of Achilles, one of the warlike bands of Phthiotis, occupy a much more prominent station. Athens, at this period, could have been of no great importance as a commercial or a warlike city; nor can we suppose that its architectural improvements had extended much beyond the fortifica-

tions of the Acropolis, and the building on its summit of the temple of Athena Polias, and Erectheus.

The oldest extant construction of Athens, we believe to be the Pelasgic wall on the north side of the Acropolis; not the work of a people invited into Attica for that purpose, but the work of the Aborigines or the Pelasgi. The gradual decline of the power of the Pelasgi in Attica, and the extinction of their name by the preponderance of another stock, can hardly be doubted, though the progress of this change is entirely unknown. That their name should have been attached to a portion of the city under the Acropolis, as late as the time of Thucydides (ii. 17), is a decisive proof that the Pelasgi once occupied the spot, and also that they were once a component part of the city. There is hardly an antient city in Europe which does not possess similar historical memorials. It is certain, however, that another race shared, at an early period, with the Pelasgi the ground around the Acropolis, and this people it was who gave, in course of time, a new distinctive appellation to the community; just as we see from many instances in modern times, where the original settlers of a colony have been supplanted by a new race, whose name and language have gradually predominated. The restless spirit of the Athenian people was well calculated to obscure a less enterprising and adventurous race.

Two rival deities contended for the honour of giving name to Attica, that is, two people disputed both for religious and political superiority. Poseidon, the god of the Ionians, and Athena, the tutelary goddess of the people who bore her name, claimed the superiority; and though it was conceded to Athena, Poseidon still maintained his ground in Attica. The temple on the high cliff of Sunium, the first object which the mariner would see on his approach to the Attic coast, was

dedicated to the great virgin goddess; but Poseidon himself, though he perhaps had no abode there, was the guardian of the sacred headland, to whom the sailor made his votive offering as he doubled the stormy cape, or sought shelter in its havens from the dangers of shipwreck. In the Knights of Aristophanes, the chorus which is divided into two bodies, addresses respectively the god of the sea, "who loves the noise of the hoofs of horses and their neighing, the guardian of the navy of Athens, the lord of the golden trident, the ruler of the dolphin, the deity adored at Sunium,"—and Pallas, "the guardian of the sacred city, the queen of a land the first in battle, poetry, and might." It would appear as if the old Pelasgic worship gradually disappeared, and the union of the Ionian with the Athenian system formed the basis of the new social system. In the Panathenaic procession a sacred *ship* was carried, and it appears not unlikely that the naval games round Cape Sunium were connected with the festival of the less Panathenæa (Lysias. Απολογ. Δωροδοκ.) But each spot in Attica, no doubt, had its deities; and some were almost equally honoured with the tutelary goddess of the Acropolis. The worship of the two goddesses at Eleusis, Demeter (Ceres), and Persephone (Proserpine), the mother and the daughter, with the whole system of religious rites established at Eleusis, indicates another component part of Attic population. Eumolpus, a son of Poseidon, and Chione (snow), herself a daughter of Boreas or the north wind, according to the story, came from Thrace, and founded the worship and temple of Ceres. Yet another legend seems to show that the worship of this goddess was not introduced into the plain of Eleusis, but sprung up there. Triptolemus, the favourite of Ceres, first sowed the Rharian plain with grain, and man thus received the gift of corn.

It would perhaps be too much to contend that every various form of worship which a country possesses, is a proof of the intermixture of so many different nations; but still there is no other hypothesis which will account for the endless variety of subordinate religious forms in such a town as Athens, than that of supposing a union of various families and peoples, many of them no doubt closely related, who successively added to the population of the city of Athena. This is in strict conformity with the notion which Thucydides had of the gradual growth of the Athenian community. Each district, however small, would have its genuine local deity, and it would have only *one;* on the union of the Attic demi in one civil community each would still preserve its former guardian power, though all would submit to the warrior virgin under whose auspices the new system was established by the least disputed of all titles, that of conquest. In this way by the accession of the rural deities of the province, and the foreign deities at various periods introduced into the system, there sprung up at Athens, as in many other cities, those almost innumerable temples and religious rites, which while they mark a general system of toleration in the Greek cities are the most indisputable proof of the intermixture of the various branches of the nation. Any large commercial city of modern Europe exhibits the same phenomena in its motley population, and its various places of worship.

It is of some importance for the student of Athenian art to form a clear conception of the religious system under which it was fostered, and for whose embellishment it was specially intended. Unfortunately the ordinary books to which he may refer on this subject, only tend to confuse him; nor is the subject itself free from difficulties, as Pausanias himself by his own confession often admits. But of this we may be sure,

that the more strictly we can approach to the genuine mythus unencumbered by accessions of spurious growth, the more exact conception shall we form of the nature and meaning of antient art, and especially Athenian art. In order to attain this, the student should make the antient writers his study, and not be guided too much by the explanations of those who prefer their own hypotheses to the trouble of investigating the truth. The following quotation from Pausanias (i. 26) is worth attention: "Both the city and the whole country also are sacred to Athena; for whatever deities it is customary for the people to worship in their respective demi, Athena is not the less held in honour by all. And many years before the people of the demi were united in one state, they all worshipped the statue of Athena which was kept in what was then called the city (Polis), but now merely the citadel (Acropolis). The story is that it fell from heaven; but I shall not examine whether it was so or not."

The oldest buildings at Athens, next to those on the Acropolis, were the temple of Olympian Jupiter, the Pythium, the temple of Ge (Earth), and that of Dionysus in Limnæ, all of which were on the south side of the Acropolis and in the direction of the fountain Enneacrunos. There were in this part also other *antient* temples, says Thucydides (ii. 15), which he does not specially name; nor can we determine from his text to what precise epoch in *antiquity* he would refer these edifices. Athenian history is indeed almost a blank till the time of Solon and Pisistratus, nor can we go much beyond a conjecture as to its architectural history before the Persian wars.

Colonel Leake thinks that "it was probably about the eighth century before the Christian era that the Athenians built the Hecatompedon, or great temple of Minerva, in the Acropolis, which was then ren-

dered necessary by the inadequacy of the temple of Minerva Polias to the increased dimensions of Athens, and to the multitudes assembled from every part of Greece, by the growing celebrity of the Panathenaic festival*."

At a later period (B. C. 561) came the tyranny of Pisistratus, but neither he, nor his sons who succeeded him, were hostile to the learning or the arts of Athens. Cicero informs us, that Pisistratus directed Homer's poems to be collected, and digested in the order in which we now have them†. He built the temple of Apollo Pythius, and laid the foundations of the great temple of Jupiter Olympius.

In the expedition against Greece under Xerxes, Athens was taken in the 480th year before Christ; and ten months afterwards was burnt by the Persian general Mardonius. Herodotus, in his ninth book, has minutely described the latter event. He says, Mardonius did not depart without setting fire to Athens, and levelling with the ground whatever remained entire of its walls, buildings, or temples. But Pausanias's account renders it probable, that the generality of the temples, and buildings for public use, were not so utterly destroyed as Herodotus describes. Colonel Leake, whose local acquaintance with Athens, joined to his study of the antient writers, demands the greatest respect, says, "We have reason to believe that the Persians destroyed the great temple of Minerva in the Acropolis so completely, that Themistocles had no scruples in applying the ruins to the repairing of the walls of the

* Topogr. of Athens, Introd. p. ix.

† "Quis doctior, iisdem illis temporibus, aut cujus eloquentia literis instructior fuisse traditur, quam Pisistrati? qui primus Homeri libros confusos antea sic disposuisse dicitur ut nunc habemus." Cic. de Oratore.

Acropolis; while with regard to the Odeium, Erectheium, Lenæum, Anaceium, and the temples of Venus, and those of Vulcan and Apollo Pythius, the destruction was confined to the roofs and combustible parts only; so that they were probably left, together with a great number of the smaller fanes and heroa, in such a state that it was not difficult to restore them.

"The new buildings," he adds, "which rose at Athens in the half century of her highest renown and riches, may be divided into those erected under the administrations of Themistocles, of Cimon, and of Pericles. Utility appears to have been the sole object of the first of these men. The private opulence and liberal disposition of Cimon inspired him with views of magnificence, which were completed by Pericles, at the expense of the tributary states.

"The earliest of the buildings of Cimon was the temple of Theseus. The Pœcile, which was adorned with pictures, executed in part by the same artist who painted the Theseium, seems, from this circumstance, to have been nearly of the same date. The Dionysiac theatre, principally intended to furnish a place of representation for the tragedies of Æschylus, was begun about the same period, although it was not finished until long afterwards*. The Stoæ, the Gymnasia, and the embellishments of the Academy, and of the Agora, which Cimon executed in great part at his own expense, were probably the next in order; and it seems not to have been until after the battle of the Eurymedon, that the southern wall of the Acropolis and the long walls were built, the expense of these works having been chiefly defrayed out of the Persian spoils.

"For Pericles was reserved the completion of the military works which Themistocles had conceived, and which Cimon had partly executed. He made

* By Lycurgus, the son of Lycophron, about 330 B. C.

considerable progress also in the building of the new Erechtheium; he constructed some of the Stoæ of the Ceramicus; and probably repaired several of the temples destroyed by the Persians in various parts of Attica. But his great works were the entire construction, from the foundations, of those magnificent buildings the Mystic Temple of Eleusis, the Parthenon, and the Propylæa; in all which we are at a loss whether most to admire the rapidity or the perfection of the execution*."

The termination of the Peloponnesian war (B. C. 404) was not followed, as far as we know, by consequences injurious to the buildings of Athens. The Lacedæmonians, indeed, as a condition of the surrender of the city, demanded the destruction of the *Long Walls* which joined the ports to the city, as well as of the walls of the Piræus; both of which were demolished, though perhaps not entirely.

The victory which the combined Athenian and Persian fleet under Conon, obtained off Cnidos, over the fleet of Lacedæmon (B. C. 323), restored to Athens for a time her naval superiority; and the singular spectacle of an Athenian and Persian acting against a Spartan force was followed by the presence of the two combined fleets in the Piræus. With the aid of the sailors, and such labour as could be purchased for money, Conon restored the ruined walls of Athens; and the gratitude of posterity viewed him as the second founder of the city, and as having achieved this difficult undertaking in a way less objectionable than his predecessor Themistocles.† Though we are generally accustomed to view the political power of Athens as on the decline after the Peloponnesian war, this is hardly a correct view of her situation. The rage for foreign conquest, such as led to the Sicilian expedition,

* Topogr. of Athens, Introd. pp. xii. xiii.

† Demosthenes, Leptin.

was somewhat subdued, but her power and influence were not entirely crippled; and there can be little doubt that her foreign commerce and population were at least not on the decline from the time of Conon to the age of Demosthenes. Lycurgus the orator, whom we have already mentioned as the founder of the stadium which Herodes afterwards embellished, was no less active in adding to the military defence of the city; he was appointed a commissioner for public works, and intrusted with the command of a very large sum of money; and, as Plutarch* tells us, "he was indefatigable in superintending the works both in summer and winter. Being elected by the people to look after the military defences of the city he repaired many parts of them; he also fitted up a fleet of four hundred vessels; he made the gymnasium in the Lyceum and planted it with trees; he built the Palæstra and finished the Dionysiac theatre."—"Having found many works left incomplete he finished them, such as dock-yards and arsenals; and he built the stone enclosure round the Panathenaic stadium, &c."

Such were the services of this active contemporary of Demosthenes and Philip, who was undoubtedly a man of true taste, and felt a generous pride in adding to the beauty and comforts of his native city; perhaps he hardly did less than Pericles himself, though unfortunately for his reputation no monument so durable as the Parthenon has transmitted his fame to the present day. He died B. C. 328, when Alexander was in Asia. There can be little doubt, then, that Athens continued to improve in her public buildings from the time of Pericles to the period of the Macedonian supremacy, and every successive age must have added to those almost countless works of art which were destined to be the prey of a Roman conqueror.

* Life of Lycurgus. Wyttenbach's edit. iv. 375, &c.

The picture which Dicæarchus, a traveller in the third century before the Christian era, gives of Athens is curious and interesting, being the last distinct view that we have of it before the calamities that overwhelmed it. The Greek text is unfortunately so corrupt that the whole of it is not translatable. "The approach to Athens is pleasant, and well cultivated, having in its aspect something humanizing. The city itself is very dusty and ill supplied with water, and the streets, owing to the antiquity of the place, are crooked and irregular. The greater part of the houses are mean, though a few are good; and the first view of the place by a stranger might almost lead him to doubt if *this* be the Athens so much talked of. After a while he would begin to think it *was* the true Athens. Here is the finest theatre in the world, and the noble temple of Athena called the Parthenon, which rises above the theatre and astonishes the spectator. The Olympium is indeed unfinished, but the magnitude of the design is wonderful; if it were completed, it would be the noblest building in the world. There are three gymnasia—the Academia, Lyceium, and Cynosarges, all planted with trees and laid out in grass."

The first great misfortune that befel the city after the Peloponnesian war, was the devastation of the suburbs by the fifth Philip of Macedon, against whom the Athenians had joined Attalus and the Rhodians (B. C. 200). After the Romans had seized on Chalcis, in Eubœa, which was in alliance with Philip, that vigorous monarch marched straightway to Athens, with the hope of taking the city by surprise. Failing in this, he turned his vengeance against the monuments that adorned the suburbs of Athens. The Cynosarges, with its temple of Hercules, its gymnasium and trees were destroyed: the Lyceum shared the same fate; and even the monuments of the dead

did not escape. After a short absence in the Peloponnesus the savage plunderer came again, and stung to madness by an unsuccessful attempt on Eleusis and the Piræus, he determined to take ample vengeance. He burnt and destroyed the temples that adorned the little towns of Attica, many of which no doubt were beautiful specimens of art, and had been erected with much of that profusion of taste and labour which characterized the finished works of Athens. "The province of Attica," says Livy*, "was adorned to a surprising degree with temples; which was owing no less to the abundance of marble at hand than to the talent of the native architects. On these the king exercised all his fury. Not satisfied with throwing down the temples and the statues, he made his men break the stones in pieces that the ruins might not contain a single mass entire." There can be no doubt that the loss in works of art sustained during this invasion must have been very considerable.

From the time of the Persian invasion to the capture of the city by Sylla (B. C. 87), Athens herself had escaped the immediate evils of war: her fleets had been destroyed, her long walls beaten down, and her fields ravaged, but an enemy had never yet pillaged her temples and disfigured her beautiful edifices. This event, which a little prudence might perhaps have prevented, was brought about by the folly of her own people. Aristion, a feeble and worthless Athenian, had induced the turbulent and discontented citizens to take the part of Mithridates against the Romans, and at the same time had contrived to put himself at the head of affairs, though he had as little pretensions to generalship as to honesty. Archelaus, a Greek, who commanded for Mithridates occupied the Piræus, and the

* xxxi. 26.

demagogue had the care of the city and Acropolis. Sylla, with the Roman army, soon made his appearance, and commenced a most desperate attack both on the city and the Piræus; he spared neither labour nor expense, being bent on getting possession of Athens. The trees of the sacred groves round Athens, which we must suppose to have been replaced since Philip's visit, were all cut down to supply materials for the siege, while repeated attacks were made on the city. Famine had reduced the Athenians to the utmost extremity, so that they were obliged to live on boiled leather and grass, before the place was finally taken by assault. At last, the Roman soldiers entered at midnight, with full liberty to kill and plunder; nor were they slow in availing themselves of the permission granted by the ferocious general. "The blood," says Plutarch, "stained the whole Ceramicus as far as Dipylum, and ran down through the gates." The abominable wretch Aristion, who had been revelling in luxury, while the people were dying of hunger, fled to the Acropolis, which he was soon compelled to surrender. According to Pausanias, Sylla dragged him from the Parthenon, and put him to death. The defence of the Piræus by Archelaus, caused the Romans no small difficulty, owing to the complicated nature of the works and the strength of the Munychia to which Archelaus had retreated. It was not till the Greek general embarked from the Munychia and left it to the Romans, that their victory was complete. The long walls were now destroyed, the Piraic fortifications with the maritime city were reduced to an insignificance from which they never recovered, and the commerce of Athens, even under the Emperors, never became important enough to revive the decayed Piræus. Though the city doubtless received occasional improvements, as we know from existing monuments, its restoration to any thing

like its former splendour must be referred, as Pausanias has remarked, to the time of the Emperor Hadrian.

Yet Athens, even before the Christian era, recovered her importance so far as to be a school which the Roman youth frequented for the higher species of instruction which could not yet be had at home. The son of Cicero was sent here by his father, who was himself an admirer and a proficient in the language of Greece, and had studied philosophy at Athens while on his tour before commencing his professional career; and Horace*, as he tells us himself in some of his most beautiful lines, perfected his knowledge of the Greek philosophy in the schools of Athens.

"Romæ nutriri mihi contigit, atque doceri
Iratus Graiis quantum nocuisset Achilles.
Adjecere bonæ paulo plus artis Athenæ;
Scilicet ut curvo possem dignoscere rectum,
Atque inter Sylvas Academi quærere verum."

"It was my fortune to be bred and taught
At Rome, what woes enraged Achilles wrought
To Greece: kind Athens yet improved my parts
With some small tincture of ingenuous arts,
To learn a right line from a curve, and rove
In search of wisdom through the museful grove."

FRANCIS.

The civil wars roused the future poet from his retreat. But the battle of Philippi, in which he happened to be on the vanquished side, taught him that fighting was not his element. He turned again to the cultivation of the Grecian models, and enriched the literature of his country with one of her most durable and noble monuments.

Nor were the buildings of Athens entirely neglected between the time of Sylla's conquest, and the embellishments of the age of Hadrian. It is a fact which bears strong testimony to the moral influence of Athenian writers, that after the downfal of her

* Epist. lib. ii. 2.

political power, foreign kings and potentates seemed to rival one another in beautifying and improving a city which all instructed Greeks regarded as the great intellectual metropolis of their nation. Ariobazanes the second of the name, one of the Greek sovereigns of Cappadocia, whose kingdom rose out of the ruins of Alexander's empire, contributed to repair some damage sustained during the siege. We have before alluded to the munificence of Antiochus Epiphanes, king of Syria, who began to raise the great temple of Jupiter Olympius, which had already been commenced, as we have seen by the extract from Dicæarchus, on a scale of prodigious size.

Under the Romans, indeed, Athens was treated at once with indulgence and distinction. They reverenced her as the mother of the arts; and from Cæsar to Theodosius the First there were few emperors who neglected to confer, not only protection, but benefits on the city. The antient renown of Athens could not but be remembered by the Roman people. When Maximus was sent to rule Greece, in the time of Trajan, Pliny gave him this exhortation: "You will revere the gods and their founders. You will respect their pristine glory, and even their age. You will honour them for the famous deeds which are truly, nay, for those which are fabulously, recorded of them. Remember, it is ATHENS which you approach."

But Athens owed, as Pausanias has remarked, her restoration and increased splendour to the Emperor Hadrian. If we possessed a better account of this emperor's life, it would be a matter of no small curiosity to trace him in his progresses through his dominions, while cities and temples rose at his bidding, and treasures, probably raised by no very scrupulous means, were exhausted on the splendour of architectural decoration. Hadrian was undoubtedly a superstitious man, and yet religion in him was also

a matter of state policy; he knew the importance of attaching a people to the religious rites of their nation by the splendour of ceremony and the magnificence of outward display. He knew also that the priesthood of a nation, if conciliated by his government, was the great bulwark against popular tumult and the restless desire of unprofitable change.

Hadrian, who had been archon of Athens before he became emperor, displayed his affection for her by unbounded liberality. He finally completed the temple of Jupiter Olympius, which Antiochus Epiphanes had constructed upon the foundations laid by Pisistratus three hundred years before.

His principal architectural works at Athens have been already enumerated, but we should not omit to mention among them one which was of prime necessity, and in which the Romans more than in any other were proud of displaying their magnificence. Hadrian laboured to remove from Athens the reproach of "dryness and dust," by commencing the construction of an aqueduct from the Cephisus, near Anchesmos, which Antoninus Pius completed.

It was in the reign of Antoninus Pius that Pausanias, a native of Syria, travelled in Greece, and wrote the first professed antiquarian work that is now extant. Though blindly superstitious, and treating with profound respect even the most absurd and ridiculous usages, he was yet a careful observer, and, we have reason to believe, a faithful chronicler. He seems, from the incidental notices which he gives of himself, to have been a very great traveller, and, indeed, to have visited nearly every country that was celebrated in the antient world. His work, in ten books, entitled a '*Periegesis*,' or Tour of Greece, is certainly one of the most valuable works that has been preserved, both for the topography and arts of Greece south of the range of Œta. Though neither

a model of elegance as to style, and often obscure both from the author's peculiar taste and the corruption of his text, it contains such a vast variety of historical, topographical, and mythological details, particularly in reference to works of art, that it will ever be a favourite book with those who study the history of the Greek nation. When we reflect on the long list of temples, statues, pictures, and other public decorations of the Greek towns that Pausanias often briefly and unsatisfactorily describes, we are filled with amazement at the accumulated treasures which Greece must at that time have possessed. That she still possesses many of them buried beneath her soil, can hardly be doubted; and we may confidently anticipate that some of them will, before long, be brought to light. Pausanias' description of Athens, it has often been remarked, is brief and unsatisfactory; and he has sometimes omitted details with which he must have been familiar, and which to us would have been of the highest interest. But a careful study of the first book of his work (the Attica) will still show that Athens must, at this time, have presented a more gratifying spectacle to the lover of the arts than at any previous period. The great works of the Republic still remained in all their original beauty and perfection, while to them were added the embellishments of succeeding ages, and those of the munificent emperors the contemporaries of Pausanias. The number of statues and bronze figures alone must have been prodigious. Sylla, it is true, and his soldiers carried off some plunder from the city; but there is no evidence to show that they impoverished Athens of her works of art. Gold and silver were the objects of their cupidity; and, fortunately, beauty of form is more displayed in the less costly material of marble and bronze. Whatever difference of opinion there may be on the injury which Athens sus-

tained from Nero's passion for collecting statues, it is certain that the evidence of his plundering Athens, and specially the Acropolis, is hardly reconcilable with Pausanias' account of the place; and it is further remarkable, that in the numerous incidental notices by antient writers of works of art which had been transferred to Rome, the name of Athens hardly ever occurs, while the names of other Greek cities are often particularly mentioned.

We have already briefly noticed Athens as a school of philosophy for the Romans in the time of Cicero. It became afterwards, with Tarsus and Alexandria, one of the great seats of education in the eastern world, as we learn from Strabo; and it flourished also at a later period as a school of rhetoric to which youths resorted even from the most distant eastern provinces of the Roman Empire. Marcus Aurelius encouraged the school of Athens, by endowing four professorships of philosophy and one of rhetoric, thus putting the education of the city on a sure basis by providing for those whose business it was to teach. This, it has been observed, was, however, a local regulation; professors of rhetoric or philosophy were at this period, as a general principle, entirely dependent on their fees, and, as a general consequence, poor. We may rather admire the liberality than the judgment of the Emperor in the nature of his endowment, which shows however the class of studies on which youth at that time were employed. A chair of political philosophy is also mentioned by one author as among the endowments of M. Aurelius, but political philosophy under the Roman Empire, if such a chair existed, must have been rather a limited and barren subject*.

* For a further development of this subject the reader is referred to an article in the second number of the Quarterly Journal of Education, vol. i. p. 240, entitled 'The School of Athens during the Decline of the Roman Empire.'

To determine the epoch when Athens suffered most, or when she first became the prey of the destroyer, is not very easy. Christianity made but slow progress in this city, and the monuments of Paganism, as well as the study of Greek learning, maintained themselves in Athens at least as long as in any other city. The decline of Grecian art was necessarily connected with the decline of her religion, and when the power of producing what was beautiful had been lost, we may fairly suppose that the taste for preserving what existed, would also die away. The more active work of demolition, which the early Christians exercised under the sanction of the Christian Emperors, is supposed not to have commenced at Athens when the new religion acquired complete ascendancy. The temples of course were seized by the Christians, and the Pagans were turned out of them, a process which we cannot imagine to have taken place in a very quiet manner; nor can we suppose that the Christians would tolerate in the edifices devoted to their own worship, those statues and paintings which were a substantial and an essential part of the Pagan worship. We may fairly conclude, then, that before the visit of Alaric, the temples of Athens had lost much of their embellishments and had undergone such other changes as suited them for Christian churches. We need not, however, suppose that any violent damage was done to the chief edifices, though many minor ones must certainly have fallen into decay for want of attention, or have been used in the course of time for the repair or alteration of the larger temples.

In the time of Arcadius and Honorius, Athens was invaded by Alaric, king of the Goths. We may suppose that Alaric, as far as he was capable, removed her treasures of antiquity; but Colonel Leake denies the assertion of Synesius, that he converted her stately structures into piles of ruin; or that Athens was

stripped of every thing that was either splendid or remarkable.

For want of sufficient authorities, it is difficult to say what effect the founding of Constantinople had on the condition of Athens with reference to its edifices. The new city, it is true, received part of its ornaments from Rome, but the successors of Constantine on the throne of the east often applied for similar purposes to the cities of Greece, and among them, we may conjecture, to Athens, though we have but few materials on which to ground our opinion. The absence of positive evidence as to some of the greatest works of Greece having been taken to Constantinople is not decisive against the fact, when we know with certainty that *some* works of art were carried away to embellish the new capital. Justinian is said to have brought columns from Athens when he was building the church of St. Sophia, and we think hardly any supposition but that of a large part of the materials of Athens having been carried off, will account for the enormous mass that has disappeared. The Turks in later times have often done what Justinian, and probably other emperors did: the mosques at Adrianople contain materials brought even from the island of Cyprus.

The history of Athens after the decline of its schools, and the complete ascendancy of the Christian religion, is almost a blank; and it would be of little use here, to follow the obscure history of its fortunes, to the time of the crusaders, and through the stormy periods that followed the Frank conquest of Constantinople in 1204. The little that is known is hardly worth recording.

One fact, however, is certain, that Athens, once the most beautiful city in Greece, now became to the world an obscure town, and was but little heard of till the middle of the fifteenth century. At that period we

find mention of it in the wars of the Greek Emperors, the Turks, and the Venetians. It was taken in 1427 by the Sultan Morat; afterwards by the Spaniards: it then belonged to the Venetians; and in 1455 was taken by Mohammed the Second. Mohammed, as Chalcocondylas relates, when he had finished the war with the despot of the Morea, four years after, surveyed the city and Acropolis with admiration *. In 1464 the Venetians surprised the city, but quitted it with their plunder; leaving it to the Turk, with whose empire it remained till 1687, when it was again taken by the Venetians; but retaken by the Turks a short time after.

The English reader, who would enter into more minute inquiries as to the history and vicissitudes of Athens, may consult Meursius de Fortuna Athenarum, the various histories of Greece, Chandler's Travels in Greece, Colonel Leake's Topography of Athens, and Wilkins' Atheniensia.

Dr. Chandler, having noticed the landing of the Venetians at the Piræus in 1464, says, "It is remarkable, that after these events Athens was again in a manner forgotten. So lately as about the middle of the sixteenth century, the city was commonly believed to have been utterly destroyed, and not to exist, except in a few huts of poor fishermen. Crusius, a learned and inquisitive German, procured more authentic information from his Greek correspondents residing in Turkey, which he published in 1584, to awaken curiosity, and to promote further discoveries. One of these letters is from a native of Nauplia, a town near Argos, in the Morea. The writer says, "that he had been often at Athens, and that it still

* —τότε δὴ περιϊὼν ὁ βασιλεὺς, καὶ τήν τε ἀκρόπολιν θεώμενος ἐν θαύματι ἐποιεῖτο. Chalcocondylas de Rebus Turc. lib. ix. p. 242.

contained things worthy to be seen," some of which he enumerates, and then subjoins, "but why do I dwell on this place? it is as the skin of an animal which has been long dead *."

The destruction caused to the sculptures of the Parthenon at the close of the Venetian campaign in the Gulf of Corinth and the Morea, under the Generals Morosini and Coningsmark, in 1687, will be hereafter more particularly noticed. A Journal of the Campaign, printed by order of the Republic, was translated and published in England in a quarto pamphlet in 1688. The portion which relates to the attack on Athens is here extracted.

"From the Venetian fleet, near Athens,
September 21, 1687.

"Having fetch'd their compass round about the Morea, after the surrender of Missitra at discretion, and the ruin of all Malvasia with bombs, to let those haughty Turks understand the power of the Serene Republic, his Excellency the Lord Admiral, having rendezvouz'd his fleet within the Streight of Corinth, in the Gulph of Egena, had an earnest desire to put an end to this year's campaign with the conquest of the

* Chandler, Travels in Greece, edit. 1825, p. 40. Crusius, however, in his Annotations on his Turco-Græcia, says, that Athens in 1578, as Symeon Cabesilas wrote to him from Byzantium, consisted of three wards or divisions; was six or seven miles in circuit; and had twelve thousand inhabitants. Turco-Græcia, fol. Bas. 1584, p. 193. Theodosius Zygomalas, the native of Nauplia quoted by Dr. Chandler, among the buildings which he notices names the *Pantheon*—"οἰκοδομὴν νικῶσαν πάσας οἰκοδομάς· γλυπτῶς ἐκτὸς διὰ πάσης τῆς οἰκοδομῆς ἔχουσαν τὰς ἱστορίας ἑλλήνων: καὶ ταῦτα, τὰς θείας." The Greek, even at that time, thought the sculptures divine. This was in 1578. The following is the original of the passage which compares Athens to the skin of a dead animal: "Ἀλλὰ τί τῶν Ἀθηνῶν μνησθεὶς, μακρολογῶ, δέρμα λειφθείσας τοῦ πάλαι ποτὲ ζώου." Ut supr. p. 430.

Negropont, so much by him desir'd; but considering, together with the other superior commanders and sea-captains who are admitted to council, not only the difficulties of the season, far advanc'd in the year, but the numerous garrison, of above five thousand foot, which guarded that precinct, and the opposition which the serasquier might make, with the unanimous consent of the whole council, the siege of Athens was agreed upon, to make way the next season for the conquest of the Negropont.

"Thereupon, the men of war being sent away to this island in a distinct squadron, to amuse the enemy, and draw the serasquier thither with his forces, they steer'd directly toward Port Draco, the twentieth in the evening, and the next morning reach'd the port.

"On the twenty-first they landed all their militia, horse and foot, but not so much as one Turk appear'd in the field; whereupon they pass'd on to Athens, and made themselves masters of the town, which is only inhabited by the Greeks, while the Ottomans were retir'd into the upper enclosure.

"His Excellency, understanding the strong situation of the place, because he would not be constrain'd to ruin it with his bombs, summon'd the defendants to a surrender: but the enemy return'd answer by word of mouth, that they were resolv'd to hold out.

"The twenty-second, two mortar-pieces of five hundred, and two pieces of cannon of fifty, with two lesser guns of twenty, were landed, which were easily brought to the batteries that were raising, because the way was smooth and level, and but six miles in length.

"On the twenty-third they went on with their work in raising their batteries, during which labour Serjeant-major Perez, of the regiment of Cleuters, dy'd the twenty-fourth at night, of a wound receiv'd by a musket bullet.

"The twenty-third, four more great guns, two of fifty, and two of twenty, with two mortar-pieces, were landed and brought to the battery.

"The twenty-sixth, they began to play with their bombs upon the fortress; one of which fell among their ammunition, and fired a great part of it, to the great terror of the besieged, whose defences began to fail them, their parapets being ruin'd, and their great guns dismounted.

"The twenty-seventh, this day the trenches were opened in order to make the approaches, and to advance under the walls.

"The twenty-eighth, towards evening, through the continual playing of our bombs, which fell all into the small enclosure, there happen'd another great fire, which encreasing upon the fuel of the houses, and the continual playing our bombs, endur'd so furious all that day and the next night, that the enemy, astonish'd to see their houses and their goods consum'd, and their families burn'd, resolv'd to hang out a white flag, and with earnest and loud cries toward the battery of the super-intendent, Count Felice, begg'd 'em to fling no more bombs; which the Count understanding caus'd all hostility to cease. Whereupon General Coningsmark gave leave for five hostages to come forth, who being sent to the Lord Admiral and Captain General, the following capitulations were agreed upon; which being translated into the Turkish idiom, one copy was sign'd by the hostages aforementioned, and the other sent to the fortress for punctual performance.

"His Excellency was glad of this advantage; for tho' the enclosure were but small, yet it would have cost a great deal of time, and loss of much blood, to have master'd it, by reason of the strength of the situation.

"Moreover, it was of great consequence, because it commands not only a country of spacious extent, but also a large and wealthy city lying under it; a place of great trade for several sorts of merchandize that are brought to this town; and which will, therefore, in time of peace, bring great revenue to the public treasury*."

The changes which occurred in the state of Athens, says Colonel Leake, between the Venetian siege and the time of Chandler, were so small, that Chandler found it sufficient for the explanation of his topography, to insert a copy of the plan of Athens published by Fanelli, from the Venetian engineers†.

The alterations subsequent to Chandler's time have been considerable. The descent of the Albanians into Greece, which followed the insurrection excited in the Morea by the Russians, obliged the Athenians to surround their city with a wall.

In 1821 Athens underwent a siege, but neither then, nor in 1826, when the Seraskier, Redschid Pasha, again besieged the town and bombarded the Acropolis, was serious injury done to the temples. In the former year, at the instigation of Lord Strangford, who was then ambassador to the Porte, orders were issued from the Grand Vizier to the Governor-General of the Morea, for the protection, as far as the Turks could ensure it, of the monuments of antiquity.

A still later siege is said to have done considerable damage to the pillars of the temples, and to have thrown some of them down.

Several important remains in Athens and its neighbourhood, and even more than one temple, have disappeared since Chandler wrote his Travels. The Ionic temple on the Ilissus, which in Stuart's time,

* Journal of the Campaign, pp. 37–39.

† Topogr. of Athens, Introd. p. cv.

about 1759, was in tolerable preservation, had so effectually disappeared when Lord Elgin was in Greece, that literally even its foundation could not be ascertained *. Another temple, near Olympia, had shared a similar fate within the recollection of persons then living †. The eagerness of individual visitors, too, to possess specimens of Athenian art, has caused numerous relics to be carried from this city to other countries beside England.

Various sculptured ornaments from edifices on the Acropolis, and one or two from the Parthenon, occupy conspicuous places in the Gallery of the Louvre ‡: these were obtained under the influence of the French embassy before the Revolution; and, as has been already noticed, the same agents who had procured them were stated to have been remaining during Lord Elgin's embassy, waiting only the return of favour to renew their operations §. Some fragments from the Parthenon are preserved in the Royal Museum at Copenhagen. They were brought thither by Captain Hartmand in 1688 ||. Chandler, in his Travels, vol. ii. p. 63, Oxf. edition, says, "We purchased two fine fragments of the frieze which we found inserted over doorways in the town; and were presented with a beautiful trunk, which had fallen from the metopes, and lay neglected in the garden of a Turk." Barry, too, in his works, vol. ii. p. 162, mentions, that some fragments of the frieze had been recently offered to the Royal Academy of London.

* Memorandum of the Earl of Elgin's Pursuits in Greece, 4to. 1810, p. 4.

† Ibid.

‡ The fragment of the frieze containing seven figures, detached by the Count de Choiseul Gouffier, will be spoken of hereafter.

§ Memorandum ut supr. p. vi.

|| See Voyages et Recherches en Grèce, par P. O. Bröndsted, fol. Par. 1830, p. 173.

Chapter IV.

PLAN AND PROPORTIONS OF THE GRECIAN TEMPLES.

The Greeks are supposed by some to have borrowed the idea and form of their temples from the Egyptians; but Mr. Wilkins thinks the temples of Greece show so great a similarity in the distribution and proportion of their parts, as to warrant the conclusion that they were studiously copied from some one great model, which model he conceives to have been the second temple of Jerusalem. This opinion we merely state for the consideration of others. If the Greeks followed no foreign pattern, we must consider them as the inventors of their own style, since their temples, from the earliest to the latest, with which we are acquainted, are evidently constructed upon fixed principles. It seems the most probable supposition that the type of their temples was a construction of wood. Among the many volumes which have perished by time and accident, or have been purposely destroyed, are the invaluable treatises of certain Greek writers on architecture. If these remained, accurate data would be furnished to us of the principles upon which the architects proceeded, and of the harmony and symmetry of their designs. Hermogenes is recorded as the author of a treatise on the Ionic Temple of Diana at Magnesia, and of another on the Temple of Bacchus at Teos. Pausanias was scanty in his details of the Parthenon, because Ictinus, the architect, had himself written a treatise upon its construction. Four books are said to have been writ-

ten by Polemo, and fifteen by Heliodorus upon the Acropolis of Athens.

The plan of the generality of the temples of Greece and her colonies was that of a simple parallelogram. In some of the smaller structures a row of columns was placed only in front; but in most cases there was a row both in front and rear*; and the superior temples were surrounded by one or even two ranges of columns, resting on a base composed of several steps. The roofs of these temples were usually formed in two inclined planes, extending from front to rear, meeting in a ridge over the middle, and forming a triangular pediment or gable end at each extremity. Above the walls, at the angles of the building, were generally placed acroteria or pedestals, which rose through the roof to about the level of the centre of the tympanum†. These were intended to bear statues or vases. The porch or portico in front of the temple was called the pronaos, that in the rear the posticum.

The interior of the temple was divided into two or more parts. The naos, cella, or body of the building, was the part into which the worshippers were admitted; and at one extremity was, sometimes, as in the Parthenon, an apartment called the opisthodomos, which contained the treasures of the temple, or of the state, into which the priest or the chief magistrates only were allowed to enter. The interior of the cella was usually without ornament‡, and it generally received its light from the entrance only; though in

* The temple of Themis had only one portico. See the Ionian Antiquities.

† The triangular space included between the extremities of the sloping sides of a roof, on the face of a building, and the cornices of the pediment.

‡ This was not the case with the cella of the temple of Apollo Epicurius at Phigaleia, where the frieze formed an ornament of the cella.

some instances, in the hypæthral temples, it was, as the name implies, left open to the sky.

The simplest form of the rectangular temple was that in which the two side walls were carried out from the naos to form the porch at one or both extremities of the building. These projecting walls were terminated on the front or on both faces of the building by pilasters, which thus situated, were called antæ; and hence this kind of temple was said to be *in antis.* When columns were placed at one extremity of the building, in advance of the line joining the antæ, the temple was said to be *prostyle.* If columns were placed in a similar way at both extremities of the building, it was said to be *amphi-prostyle.* A temple having columns entirely surrounding the walls was called *peripteral.* When the exterior of a temple was not surrounded by a peristyle or colonnade, the temple was said to be *apteral.* A temple was of the kind called *dipteral*, when it had two ranges of columns resting on the pavement, and entirely surrounding the naos. When there were two rows of columns in front and rear, and only a single row on each flank, the temple was said to be *pseudo-dipteral.* A temple was called *hypæthral* when it had a row of columns in the interior at some distance from each of the four walls. Hypæthral temples being those of the greatest magnitude, had generally the double range of columns surrounding the naos on the exterior, and contained in their interior two tiers or orders of columns, placed one above another*. The walks round the exterior of the body of the temples were called *pteromata.*

Vitruvius says, "If there were nothing to prevent it, and the use of the edifice allowed it, the temple was to have such an aspect that the statue in the cell

* As in the temple at Pæstum.

might have its face towards the west; so that those who entered to sacrifice, or make offerings, might have their faces to the east as well as to the statue in the temple. Hence all altars of the gods were placed toward the east. If the nature of the place did not permit this, the temple was to be turned, so that the greater part of the city might be seen from it. So if temples were erected on the road-side, they were to be placed so that those passing by might look toward them and pay their obeisance *."

The aspect of the temple at Rhamnus was fifteen degrees to the south of east. The temple of Phigaleia, as we shall hereafter mention, stood nearly north and south.

The ascent to the generality of the Grecian temples was by three steps. The temple of Theseus at Athens, being to a hero or inferior deity, had only two †.

The floor of the cella in Grecian temples was almost invariably above that of the portico, never below it. In some instances, as at Pæstum and Agrigentum, the ascent to the cella was considerable. The Parthenon is the only temple known where the pavement of the cella was on the same level with that of the pronaos and posticus.

The orders of architecture used in the Grecian temples were three, the Doric, the Ionic, and the Corinthian ‡. The Doric was the earliest, and extremely simple in its form. The columns representing posts or trunks of trees, were placed on a basement of stone to prevent them from sinking into the ground. The Ionic order had its rise in Asia Minor, and prevailed chiefly in the Asiatic states of Greece. The most beautiful example of this order now remaining

* Vitruv. lib. iii. chap. 5. † Ionian Antiq. vol. i. p. 6.

‡ Lord Elgin's collection contains a complete series of capitals of the three orders.

in the world is a column in the Elgin collection brought from the temple of Erectheus at Athens. The Corinthian order, according to an old and well-known tradition, originated in accident; an acanthus plant at Corinth shot its foliage about a tile placed on a basket, which being seen by an architect, was adopted for the capital of a pillar.

Of the Doric order we have remains of temples at Ægina, Segeste, Agrigentum, in the temple of Theseus and the Parthenon at Athens, at Cora, in the country of the Volsci, in the island of Delos, at Phigaleia, Rhamnus, and the temple of Minerva at Syracuse.

Of the Ionic order, the joint temple of Minerva Polias and Erectheus at Athens is now the principal remaining specimen. An Ionic temple formerly existed on the south bank of the Ilissus, near Athens. The temple of Diana at Ephesus was of this order, as were the temples of Bacchus at Teos, of Apollo Didymæus near Miletus, and of Minerva Polias at Priene.

Of the Corinthian order we have no temple of early Grecian construction now remaining *. Pausanias informs us that the temple of Minerva at Tegea, built by Scopas about 385 B. C., had both Doric and Corinthian pillars; and this order appears to have been used, at an earlier or later period, in the temple of Jupiter Olympius at Athens. That the Corinthian was once a favourite order in Greece cannot be doubted; the paucity of its remains is, with some probability, accounted for, by supposing that when the Romans became possessed of the country they transported the columns to Italy.

* The choragic monument of Lysicrates at Athens, built about the year 335 before Christ, is not considered here as a Grecian temple of the kind we are describing.

In respect to the dimensions of Grecian temples, one of the largest was that of Diana at Ephesus. It was four hundred and twenty-five feet long by two hundred and twenty broad: the columns were sixty feet in height. The temple of Jupiter at Agrigentum, described by Diodorus Siculus, was three hundred and forty feet in length by sixty in width. The latter measurement, however, is generally admitted as a mistake in the text for a hundred and sixty; since the great temple of Selinus, the next in size, was three hundred and thirty-one feet in length by a hundred and sixty-one in breadth; and sixty feet of width compared with the length is an impossibility. The temple of Jupiter Olympius at Athens was two hundred and fifty-nine feet long by ninety-six in width. That of the Parthenon, two hundred and twenty-eight by a hundred and two. The larger temple at Pæstum, a hundred and ninety-five feet four inches by seventy-eight feet ten. The temple at Segeste, a hundred and ninety feet by seventy-six feet eight inches. The temple of Syracuse, a hundred and seventy-two by seventy-four. That of Corinth, a hundred and sixty feet by a hundred and nine. The temple of Apollo Epicurius at Phigaleia, a hundred and twenty-four feet by forty-seven. That of Juno at Agrigentum, a hundred and twenty-four feet by fifty-four feet seven. The smaller temple at Pæstum, a hundred and seven feet by forty-seven. The temple of Theseus, a hundred and four feet by forty-five. The temple of Jupiter at Ægina was ninety-six feet by forty-five. The joint temple of Minerva Polias and Erectheus, seventy-four feet long by thirty-eight in width; the columns twenty-two feet high.

The cella of the temple of Jupiter at Selinus was a hundred and ten feet long by sixty-seven in width. That of Juno Lucina at Agrigentum, forty-eight feet

eleven by twenty-nine feet wide. The cella of the temple of Apollo Epicurius at Phigaleia, fifty-three feet by twenty. The length of the hypæthral or unroofed part of the cella of this temple was thirty-five feet.

To attempt to give any complete account of the ceremonial of a Grecian temple would be absurd: each deity and each temple had peculiar rites. Still there were certain general usages in which all, or nearly all, agreed; and we find many parts, even of the Greek and Roman ritual, almost the same. The various modern writers who have treated of the antiquities of Greece, have referred to all the material passages of the classic writers in which the worship of the Greeks is illustrated. No antient treatise on the subject, if any existed, has come down to us; so that from the comparison of scattered passages alone can the full detail be gathered.

From these we learn that the worship performed in the temples of the Greeks consisted principally in prayers, sacrifices, and lustrations.

Individuals addressed their prayers to the gods at the beginning of almost every undertaking. They offered them up in the morning and in the evening, and at the rising and setting of the sun and moon. In this adoration they kissed their hands, and then stretched them towards the god whom they worshipped. Sometimes they kissed the hands and knees of the god himself, and sometimes the threshold at the entrance of the temple. Another manner of supplication was by pulling the hairs from their heads and offering them to the god to whom they prayed. The postures which the worshippers used were different; they stood, they sat, they knelt, they lay prostrate, according to the urgency which occasioned their prayers; and in most cases turned their faces to the

east. They sometimes prayed, holding green boughs in their hands, of laurel or olive, with which they occasionally touched the knees, hands, or head of the deified statue; they touched the knee as the most flexible part, the hand as the instrument of action, the head, in hope that a nod might announce that their prayers would be successful. Plato, in his second Alcibiades, has given the form of a Grecian prayer from an old poet: "O Jupiter, give us the things which are best for us, whether we ask for them or not; and withhold those things which may be injurious to us even if we request them*." The Lacedæmonians, we are told, usually prayed that they might be able to bear injuries: we cannot say that the history of the Greeks is a good commentary on this prayer.

In regard to sacrifices those of the early ages of Greece were confined to the fruits of the earth. They are said to have been so ordained by Triptolemus; and of such we are assured, till the time of Draco, the Attic oblations consisted. Odoriferous woods, eastern aromatics, were afterwards made use of, sometimes with libations of wine, and lastly, the sacrifice of living creatures, though it is said that in the first ages of the use of victims the Athenians abstained from sacrificing the labouring ox, because he assisted them in tilling the ground †. In Arcadia Bacchus had an altar

* Ζεῦ βασιλεῦ, τὰ μὲν ἐσθλὰ καὶ ἐυχομένοις καὶ ἀνεύκτοις
Ἄμμι δίδου, τὰ δὲ δεινὰ καὶ εὐχομένοις ἀπάλεξε.

† Pausanias, in his Attica, ch. xxiv., alludes to a custom, which was probably the reason of this unwillingness. Speaking of Jupiter Polieus he says, "I shall explain the manner of sacrificing to this divinity, but the reason for it I shall pass in silence. They put barley mingled with wheat upon the altar of Jupiter Polieus, but they do not place a guard there upon the occasion. The ox, who is prepared for the sacrifice, when he comes to the altar touches these fruits; and one of the priests, whom they call Buphonus, or the ox-killer, hurling his hatchet at the ox (for such is their custom), flies afterwards hastily away. But those who stand near, as if they had not seen him who struck the ox, carry

on which young damsels, it is said, were beaten to death with bundles of rods, and the Lacedæmonians scourged their children till they bled, in honour of Diana Orthia. Human sacrifices were once not uncommon in Greece; but the more civilized usages of a later age taught that the altar of Orthia would be satisfied with blood and stripes, without death.

Particular animals were, at a later time, consecrated to particular deities. To Jupiter, Ceres, Juno, Apollo, and Bacchus, victims of advanced age might be offered. An ox of five years old was considered especially acceptable to Jupiter*. A black bull, a ram, or a boar-pig, were offerings for Neptune. A heifer, or a sheep, for Minerva. To Ceres a sow was sacrificed, as an enemy to corn. The goat to Bacchus, because he fed on vines. Diana was propi tiated with a stag; and to Venus the dove was consecrated. The infernal and evil deities were to be appeased with black victims. The most acceptable of all sacrifices was the heifer of a year old, which had never borne the yoke†. It was to be perfect in every limb, healthy, and without blemish.

Such was the Grecian sacrifice in its general character. The altars which were used for it were of various dimensions, according to the diversity of the gods to whom they were consecrated. The celestial gods had their altars raised considerably above the

the hatchet before a tribunal. And such is the manner of proceeding in their sacrifice."

Nothing which had life was sacrificed at the altar of Jupiter before the vestibule of the Erectheium. Cakes only were offered; even the use of wine was forbidden on the occasion. See Pausanias, Attica, ch. xxvi.

* Homer, Il. B. v. 402, Pope's translation.

"A steer of five years age, large limb'd and fed,
To Jove's high altars Agamemnon led."

† This was the sacrifice which the Jews were commanded to make. Numb. xix. 2.

ground. Pausanias says, the altar of the Olympian Jupiter was nearly twenty-two feet high. Those of the terrestrial gods were not so high: and to the heroes, sacrifices were made on altars near the ground, raised only by a single step. The Athenians made a marked distinction between the worship of the god and that of the hero. The victims to the infernal gods were sacrificed on the edge of trenches. The raised altars were made of earth, or of the ashes of sacrifice, of brick, or stone, or indeed of any durable material. Their form was usually either square or circular, and they were decked with sacred herbs.

When all was ready for the sacrifice, the mola salsa, the knife to kill the victim, and the crowns *, were brought in a basket called *κανοῦν*, covered with a veil, whence the virgins, whose office it was to carry this basket at the Panathenæa and other solemnities, were called Canephori.

The victim, if it was a sheep or small animal, was usually driven to the altar; but the larger sacrifices were brought by the horns †; or if a cord or rope was required, as was often the case, it was loosed as much as possible, that the animal might not seem to be sacrificed unwillingly, or by constraint. Sometimes there were certain persons appointed to fetch the sacrifice with musical instruments, but this was seldom practised, except at the larger sacrifice of the hecatomb.

After this, they stood about the altar, and the priest turning towards the right hand, went round it and sprinkled it with meal and holy water; he be-

* Aristoph. Eirene, l. 948.

† A representation of a victim led, or rather managed, by a cord, will be found on one of the slabs of the Elgin frieze, numbered 85.

sprinkled also those who were present, taking a torch from the altar, or a branch of laurel*.

This done, the crier proclaimed with a loud voice, Τίς τῇδε, *Who is here?* To which the people replied, Πολλοὶ κἀγαθοι, *Many and good.* After this they prayed, the priest having first exhorted them to join with him, saying, Ευχώμεθα, *Let us pray.* Aristophanes, in his Eirene, has given a kind of parody of the usual ceremonies accompanying a sacrifice. The requests of the worshippers were, generally, that the gods would vouchsafe to accept their oblations, and send them health and happiness; and they added, at their petitionary sacrifice, a request for whatever particular favour they then desired. Potter says, they seem to have had a general form of prayer, used on all such occasions, though sometimes varied as to the words.

Prayer being ended, the priest having before examined the exterior of the victim, to see if it had any blemish or other defect, proceeded now to examine if it were sound within. To this end meat was set before it, as barley-meal before bulls, vetches before goats; which, if the victims refused to eat, they were judged to be unsound. They sometimes besprinkled the victim with cold water, which if it endured without shrinking, it was thought to be in some way indisposed: thus says Plutarch. This being done, they made trial whether the victim was willing to be sacrificed to the gods, by drawing a knife from its forehead to the tail, at which, if the victim struggled, it was rejected, as not acceptable to the gods; but if it stood quiet at the altar, then they thought the gods were pleased with it: yet a bare non-resistance was not thought sufficient, except it also gave its consent by

* The vessels used in the sacrifice were likewise purified with onions, water, brimstone, eggs, &c.

a nod, which was attained by pouring water into its ear, and sometimes barley.

After this, they prayed again; which done, the priest took a cup of wine, and having tasted it himself, caused the company to do the like, and then poured the remainder between the horns of the victim*.

After this, frankincense, or other incense, taken from the censer with three fingers, was strewed upon the altar, and as some authorities assert, upon the forehead of the victim†.

Then they poured forth some of the mola salsa, or flour sprinkled with salt, on the back of the victim, upon which a little water had been previously scattered. This done, they prayed again, and then offered the remainder of the mola salsa upon the altar.

Then the priest, or crier, or sometimes the most honourable person in the company where no priest was present, killed the beast by striking him down, or cutting his throat. Sometimes the person who killed and prepared the victim, which was accounted a more ignoble office, was different from him who offered it upon the altar. If the sacrifice was in honour of the cælestial gods, the throat was bent upward toward heaven; but if made to the heroes, or infernal deities, it was killed with its throat toward the ground. If the beast escaped the stroke, if it leaped up after it, or bellowed, or did not fall prone upon the ground, kicked, or was restless, as though it expired in pain, did not bleed freely, or was long in dying, it was thought unacceptable to the gods; all these being unlucky omens, as their contraries were

* Ovid, Metamorph. lib. vii. v. 593.

——— "dum vota sacerdos
Concipit, et fundit purum inter cornua vinum."

† "Et digitis tria thura tribus sub limine ponit."
Ovid, Fasti. lib. ii.

considered tokens of divine favour and good will. The *kerûkes*, or public criers, then helped to slay the beast, light the wood, and do other inferior offices, while the priest or soothsayer, with a long knife, turned over the bowels (it being unlawful to touch them with his hands) to make predictions from them. The blood was saved in a vessel, and offered to the gods upon the altar. Wine was now poured into the fire, together with frankincense, to increase the flame, and then the sacrifice was laid upon the altar, which, when burned whole to the gods, was thence called *holokauston*, i. e. 'entirely burnt.' Prometheus, as some of the poets say, was the first who laid aside this custom, for considering that the poorer sort had not wherewith to defray the expenses of a whole burnt-offering, he obtained leave from Jupiter, that one part only might be offered to the gods, and the remainder reserved for themselves. The parts reserved for the gods were the thighs; these they covered with fat, that they might consume altogether in a flame; for unless all was burnt, they thought their sacrifice was not accepted. Small pieces of flesh were cut from different parts, and added to the thighs, as the first fruits of the whole. Dionysius of Halicarnassus says, they also added the first fruits, in small pieces, from every entrail.

Whilst the sacrifice was burning, the priest, and the person who gave the victim, jointly made their prayers to the god, with their hands resting upon the altar. Sometimes they played upon musical instruments in the time of sacrifice; but this was mostly done when sacrifices were made to the divinities of heaven. On other occasions it was not unusual to dance round the altar, whilst they sung the sacred hymns. These consisted of three stanzas or parts, the first, called *strophe*, was sung in turning from east to west; the second, named *antistrophe*, was sung

in returning from west to east; the *epode*, or third part, was sung standing at the altar. These hymns were generally composed in honour of the deities, and usually recited their more remarkable actions, clemency, liberality, and benefits conferred upon mankind; concluding with a petition for the continuance of favours. They were usually called pæans, but the hymns of almost every god had separate names; that of Apollo was peculiarly named pæan; the hymns of Bacchus were called dithyrambi.

The musical instrument chiefly used at sacrifices was the flute; whence the antient proverb, "to live the life of a flute-player:" such persons attending sacrifices, usually partook of the parts which were feasted upon *, and thus lived at free cost.

The sacrifice ended, the priest had a certain portion of the victim. At Athens, a tenth part was also given to the functionaries called prytanes. At Sparta, the kings had the first share in all public sacrifices, and the skin of the victim. Generally, however, when the sacrifice was ended a feast was made; for which purpose tables were provided in all the temples. Athenæus, in his Deipnosophistæ, says, that the antients never indulged in dainties, nor drank any quantity of wine, but at such times. To this we presume there must have been occasional exceptions. They thought they were then obliged to drink copiously in honour of the gods. Hence also the gods were said to feast with men. All the time the feast lasted they continued to sing the praises of the god; as in the first Iliad, v. 473:

"All day in moving sounds the Grecians sing,
And echoing woods with Io Pæans ring,
To win the god t'accept their offering."

The feast in some places was to be ended before sun-set, as Athenæus informs us, and was not to

* See Aristoph. Eirene, l. 950, &c.

exceed an appointed time in any place. After the feast, we are told, they sometimes played at dice.

After all, thanks were returned to the god for the honour and advantage of sharing with him in the victim; when the herald or public crier, in a short form of words, dismissed the assembly.

In the Grecian sacrifice, it is to be observed, that if a man could not afford to offer a living ox, it was lawful for him to sacrifice one of bread-corn, or even cakes. Porphyry, in his Treatise de Abstinentia, relates a story, to show that the intention was considered in preference to the value of the victim. He says, a rich Thessalian, being at Delphi, offered up, with all the parade of ostentation, a hecatomb of oxen with gilded horns. At the same time a poor citizen of Hermione, drawing a handful of meal from his wallet, threw it into the flame burning on the altar. The Pythia declared that this man's worship was more acceptable to the gods than that of the Thessalian*.

Every person who attended the more solemn sacrifices was purified by water, a vessel filled with which was placed, after the manner of our Catholic churches, at the entrance of the temple. It was consecrated by putting into it a burning torch taken from the altar; and was called lustral water. Aristophanes and Euripides frequently allude to it. Before the worshippers sacrificed to the celestial gods they washed their whole bodies. A sprinkling was sufficient when the worshippers sacrificed to the infernal gods. Homer represents Hector as afraid to make so much as a libation to Jupiter, with unwashed hands. This lustration was intended to signify that nothing impure ought to approach the deities. The water used in purification was to be clear, and was commonly fetched from fountains and rivers; that of lakes or standing pools, or even from a river which

*Porphyr. de Abstinentia, lib. ii. § 15.

had flowed far from its source, was considered unfit. Sea-water, if it could be procured, was preferred to all other, because its saltness gave it an increased quality in cleansing.

The temples of the deities also were sprinkled with water, as a part of the lustral ceremony. Such a practice in a warm southern climate had its origin probably in the coolness and freshness which the sprinkling of water communicated to the floors of the building. Among the rich presents of the Lydian Crœsus to the temple of Delphi, we find (Herod. i. 51.) two watering cans or sprinkling vessels (*περιῤῥαντήρια*) enumerated, one of gold and the other of silver. The first chorus of the Ion of Euripides is well worth the reader's perusal, both as a noble specimen of the Greek lyric poetry, and as containing allusions to some of the lustral ceremonies of the temple.

"Ye Delphians, ministers of Phœbus, go to the silvery waters of Castalia, and having cleansed yourselves with its pure dews, then go to the temples—but I, with the shoots of the laurel and sacred garlands, will purify the entrances to the temple of Phœbus, and will water the pavement with moist drops."

Whoever had been guilty of any notorious crime, as murder, incest, or adultery, was forbidden to be present at the holy rites till after purification.

Hector is represented by Homer, when returning from victory, declaring that it would be impious, while besmeared with blood, to pay his vows to Jupiter.

Purification was also thought necessary for those who returned from foreign countries, after it had been believed that they were dead; as well as for those who unexpectedly recovered after the celebration of their funeral rites.

It must not be forgotten that, in some point or other, almost every temple had its peculiarities of worship. Pausanias has recorded the details of many, as he met with them in his travels*, and of some he has given such explanations as satisfied himself. To discuss, however, those phenomena of the human mind, which have influenced it in the formation of different modes of worship, was not within the reach of Pausanias, who has generally confined himself to old traditions, which are curious and valuable, as offering materials for speculation.

* Attica, ch. xiv. xxiv. xxviii. xxxviii. Corinthiaca, ch. xi. xiii. xxiv. &c. &c.

Chapter V.

SCULPTURE TO THE TIME OF PHIDIAS.

The Marbles, which form the main subject of this volume, exhibit sculpture at the period when it had arrived so near perfection as to be the admiration not only of the antient world, but of all succeeding ages; we shall therefore attempt briefly to trace the practice of that art among the early nations of the earth, till excellence was finally attained by Phidias, and the disciples of his school, in Greece.

The history of the earliest practice of sculpture is obscure; but there seems reason to believe that if it was not first used, it was soon employed in the service of religion. The words of the second commandment against idolatry, "Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image, or any likeness of any thing that is in heaven above," clearly show that at that remote age the art of sculpture was well known.

Images are first mentioned in the Scriptures in the book of Genesis, where Rachel steals her father's idols *, and puts them in a camel's furniture, and hides them †.

In Exodus we have a description of the idol of gold set up by the Israelites whilst Moses was absent upon the Mount, which Aaron "had fashioned with

* *Teraphim*, Images.

† Genesis, xxxi. 34.

a graving tool after he had made it a molten calf*." The Israelites had learned in Egypt the worship of Apis, and had doubtless become acquainted with the imitative arts of that nation, which they never entirely laid aside, though the commands of the Deity were especially directed against all the imitative arts of every description. In Samuel, too, we have an account of an image of Dagon, the god of the Philistines, which fell upon its face before the ark †.

Sculptured images, however, were not used by idolaters alone. The art, though forbidden in general terms as the only means of weaning the Israelites from the practices of the Egyptians, was allowed, and employed by God himself in the service of religion, chiefly in the representation of divine attributes. In Exodus, chapters xxxi. and xxxvi., Bezaleel and Aholiab are expressly named as inspired sculptors, "in whom the Lord put wisdom and understanding to know how to work all manner of work for the service of the sanctuary." Bezaleel formed the cherubims of colossal dimensions which covered the mercy-seat ‡.

The serpent of brass, which Moses placed upon a pole §, was another of the sculptures made by divine ordination.

Hiram, of Tyre, was the sculptor sent for by Solomon to assist in the decoration of the temple. "He was a widow's son of the tribe of Naphtali, and his father was a man of Tyre, a worker in brass; and he was filled with wisdom and understanding, and cunning to work all works in brass. And he came to King Solomon and wrought all his work ‖."

* Exod. xxxii. 4.
† 1 Sam. v. 3.
‡ Exod. xxxvii. 7.
§ Numb. xxi. 9.
‖ 1 Kings, vii. 14.

But of *Hebrew art*, scarcely a wreck of any kind now remains. We have the silver shekel *, and we have Roman representations of the candlestick with seven branches, and of the table of the shew-bread, in a bas-relief upon the arch of Titus; but nothing more. The sculptures with which temples were adorned, both that of Solomon, and that which was raised after the return of the Jews from captivity, have been swept away. We know them only in descriptions †.

Among the kingdoms contemporary with scripture time, the fame of many in curious workmanship was great. Diodorus Siculus describes the riches of Babylon and Nineveh at a remote period; with the statues of Belus, Ninus, and Semiramis. In the epistle of Jeremiah to the captives who were led away by the king of Babylon, we read of gods of gold and silver, of stone and of wood, in that city, which were exhibited upon days of solemnity ‡. This was about six hundred and thirty years before Christ. Two hundred years later, the statues of gold in Babylon are mentioned by Herodotus §. Homer distinguishes the Sidonians for their excellence in the arts of design; and Tyre has been already mentioned in the notice of Hiram. But all these, as well as all

* That which was struck by Simon Macchabeus, about the year B. C. 142, is genuine. It has a cup on one side, and an almond branch upon the other, with a legend in Samaritan characters.

† See Hieron. Pradi et Joan. Bapt. Villalpandi e Soc. Jesu in Ezechielem Explanationes, et Apparatus Urbis ac Templi Hierosolymitani commentariis et imaginibus illustratus. 3 tom. fol. Romæ, 1605.

‡ Baruch, ch. vi. ver. 3.

§ Herodotus, i. 183. The statue of Jupiter Belus was seated on a throne before a table, and was of pure gold. Its value was estimated by the Chaldeans at eight hundred talents. Tradition spoke of an older statue of gold, twelve cubits high.

the Phœnician monuments of early date, are only to be found at present in the brief notices of antient writers. What were the characteristics of their art it is impossible for us now to judge *. We are uncertain even about early *Persian sculpture*. The bas-reliefs from Persepolis bear so strong a resemblance to Egyptian art, that they have been thought to be the performances of artists carried into Persia by Cambyses, after he had subjugated Egypt. Susa, his capital, also contained a Memnonium with the same name as the great building at Thebes. With the general outline and extent of the Persepolitan sculptures the reader may become acquainted, by consulting the engravings of them in Le Brun †; of the character of the bas-reliefs themselves, he may judge from the portions, fragments, and casts, which have been deposited at different times within these few years in the British Museum ‡. The figures are uniform in style, closely draped, stiff, and awkward. Some approach what is called the

* The only monuments known to be of Phœnician or Punic art, now extant, are coins.

† Voyages de Corneille le Brun, 4to. Paris, 1725, tom. iv. p. 331, et seq.

‡ See the Persepolitan sculptures presented by Sir Gore Ouseley, in room 1 of the Gallery of Antiquities, No. 84 to 88; with four bas-reliefs, No. 89 to 92, also from Persepolis, presented in 1818 by the Earl of Aberdeen. One or two of the bas-reliefs which the Earl of Aberdeen presented represent the close-draped figure, with his large quiver and shield, guiding a chariot. It strongly reminds the spectator of the words of Isaiah, chap. xxii. ver. 6, which follow the prophecy of the destruction of Babylon by the Medes and Persians, "And Elam bare the quiver with chariots of men and horsemen, and Kir uncovered the shield." The Casts alluded to, which are very numerous, and of great variety as to character, were presented to the Museum in 1827 by the Hon. Mount Stuart Elphinstone, Governor of Bombay.

Etruscan manner. The Persians appear to have had no knowledge of the naked form; and, as fire-worshippers, they are said to have condemned all statues and images whatever representing the deity.

Of *Egyptian art*, painting, architecture, and sculpture, enough remains to enable us to form a pretty accurate estimate, both with respect to the taste in design, and the mechanical skill possessed by the nation.

Winkelman, the abbate Fea, and Millin have attempted to class Egyptian sculpture into periods or epochs; Winkelman into three, Fea and Millin into five periods. Winkelman's notions seem most consonant to probability. He makes the first include the time which elapsed from the origin of the Egyptians to the reign of Cambyses, in the sixty-second Olympiad, or five hundred and twenty-six years before Christ: this he calls the antient epoch. The middle he makes to embrace the period during which Egypt was under the dominion of the Persians and Greeks; and the third or last, which he terms the style of imitation, about the time of Hadrian. Subsequent to this, Winkelman extended the first of his periods to the establishment of the Greeks under Alexander the Great and his successors. The student who examines Egyptian sculpture with attention, will probably acquiesce in this last division. Plato, who flourished about a hundred and thirty years after Cambyses, in his Dialogue 'de Legibus,' expressly states, that in painting and the other imitative arts the Egyptians had made no change; their productions were neither more beautiful nor worse than in the remotest ages*. This passage is

* Platonis Opera. De Leg. lib. ii. edit. Steph. tom. ii. p. 656, d. e. Plato's words are, "If you observe, therefore, you will

of itself evidence, that the more subdivided periods of Fea and Millin are chimerical. Where works are all in the same style, art will not admit of epochs. The constitution of the Egyptian government required every man's profession or trade to be hereditary; and the hierarchy, dreading innovation, limited even the exertions of art to given forms. Taste and invention were thus excluded; ambition in the artist was kept down; and sculpture itself, as we have just read, remained for ages unchanged in its fashion.

Herodotus informs us, that the Egyptians were the first people who erected altars, shrines, and temples to the gods, and that none before them ever carved the figures of animals in stone*. The great number and variety of Egyptian sculptures remaining, from the most rude to the most perfect, give us reason to believe that we have specimens from almost the earliest to the latest of their productions.

For statues, and other fragments of the colossal and heroic size, the collections of Egyptian sculpture at the British Museum, and the Royal Egyptian Museum at Turin†, probably stand unrivalled. The incalculable labour bestowed upon these works may be imagined, from a clenched hand in red granite in the former collection, which appears to have belonged

find that paintings and sculptures there, which were executed *ten thousand years ago*, as if they were not of such great antiquity, are neither more beautiful nor of a worse description than paintings or sculptures of the present day, but are fashioned by just the same art."

* II. 4.

† An elaborate and most interesting account of this Museum will be found in 'Lettres a M. le Duc de Blacas d'Aulps, relatives au Musée Royal Egyptien de Turin. Par M. Champoilion le jeune.' 8vo. Par. 1824–1826.

to a statue which Flaxman says was sixty-five feet in height *.

The statues of the Egyptians, if upright, stand equally poised on both legs, the feet mostly parallel and joined together, though one foot is sometimes advanced †; the arms are attached to the body, the hands close to the thighs, or, if one is raised, it is usually placed at a right angle across the body. The backs are almost uniformly supported by a sort of pilaster, sometimes bearing hieroglyphics. The heads, if of human figures, are occasionally uncovered, but more frequently surmounted by a bonnet, the lotus, a globe, a serpent, or the crown of serpents. Statues of men are usually naked, except across the loins, which is sometimes the case with the female statues ‡, although the latter are more generally clothed with a long garment fitted to the body §. Some of the statues sit on a kind of chair, resting the arms upon the thighs; others are represented kneeling on a square plinth; and a few, particularly some female figures, are sitting upon the ground, resting the arms upon the knees.

The Egyptian bas-reliefs have sometimes a ground sunk below the face of the granite, or other stone, in which they are carved, the highest part of the relief left level with the surface, and the circuit of the outline giving it a breadth of shadow. A remarkable instance of this species of sculpture, of considerable

* Flaxm. Lect. ii. p. 46. The reader will find ample and correct information upon the dimensions of the colossal statues of Egypt and Nubia, in the Library of Entertaining Knowledge, Egypt. Antiq. vol. i. chaps. xi. xii. and xiii.

† See the figures in the Egyptian Room in the British Museum, Nos. 35, 37.

‡ Egyptian Room, British Museum, No. 2.

§ See No. 22 in the same collection, engraved in the Library of Entertaining Knowledge, Egyptian Antiquities, vol. i. p. 383.

merit, occurs in part of the frieze of an Egyptian temple, presented to the Museum in 1766 by his late Majesty King George the Third, in the area of which a kneeling figure is represented, apparently making an offering of a mummied ibis. It is likewise seen in the bas-reliefs of the sarcophagus called the "Lover's Fountain *."

The materials in which the Egyptian sculptors worked were probably much more numerous than those which were wrought among the Greeks. Specimens occur in the Museum in wood, clay, sand-stone, marble of various colours, glass, granite, syenite, and basalt: we read, also, that they worked in porphyry and ivory. In almost all instances, precision of finish, and, in the harder substances, the beautiful fineness of surface, are remarkable.

Flaxman says, "In the Egyptian sculpture we shall find some excellent first principles of the art.

"Their best statues are divided into seven heads and a half; the whole height of the figure is divided into two equal parts at the *os pubis*; the rest of the proportions are natural, and not disagreeable. The principal forms of the body and limbs, as the breasts, belly, shoulders, biceps of the arm, knees, shin-bones, and feet, are expressed with a fleshy roundness, although without anatomical knowledge of detail: and in the female figures these parts often possess considerable elegance and beauty. The forms of the female face have much the same outline and progression towards beauty in the features, as we see in some of the early Greek statues, and, like them, without variety of character; for little difference can be traced in the faces of Isis, in her representations of Diana, Venus, or Terra, or indeed in Osiris, although some-

* Egyptian Room, British Museum, No. 69.

times understood to be Jupiter himself, excepting that in some instances he has a very small beard, in form resembling a peg. The hands and feet, like the rest of the figure, have general forms only, without particular detail; the fingers and toes are flat, of equal thickness, little separated, and without distinction of the knuckles; yet, altogether, their simplicity of idea, breadths of parts, and occasional beauty of form, strike the skilful beholder, and have been highly praised by the best judges, antient and modern.

"In their basso-relievos and paintings, which require variety of action and situation, are demonstrated their want of anatomical, mechanical, and geometrical science, relating to the arts of painting and sculpture.

"The king, or hero, is three times larger than the other figures; whatever is the action, whether a siege, a battle, or taking a town by storm, there is not the smallest idea of perspective in the place, or magnitude of figures or buildings. Figures intended to be in violent action are equally destitute of joints, and other anatomical form, as they are of the balance and spring of motion, the force of a blow, or the just variety of line in the turning figure. In a word, their historical art was informing the beholder in the best manner they could, according to the rude characters they were able to make.

"From such a description, it is easy to understand how much their attempts at historical representation were inferior to their single statues.

"What has been hitherto said of Egyptian sculpture, describes the antient native sculpture of that people. After the Ptolemies, successors of Alexander the Great, were kings of Egypt, their sculpture was enlivened by Grecian animation, and refined by the

the standard of Grecian beauty in proportions, attitude, character, and dress.

"Osiris, Isis, and Orus, their three great divinities, put on the Macedonian costume; and new divinities appeared among them in Grecian forms, whose characteristics were compounded from materials of Egyptian, Eastern, and Grecian theology and philosophy *."

In justice, however, to Egyptian art, it must be observed, that instances occur, even among the antient native sculpture, of attention to anatomical form.

The granite statue in the Egyptian room in the Museum, in a sitting posture, which is said to be an exact copy of, and which was dug out of the ruins of a temple immediately behind the vocal Memnon of Thebes, has the joints and muscles of the lower part of the body accurately expressed †. The same marking of anatomy occurs in the whole length of a colossal arm and hand of red granite ‡, near twelve feet in length; also in the Egyptian room. A painted statue of sand-stone, too, found in a sepulchre near the Pyramids by Captain Caviglia, and presented by him to the Museum in 1817, has, throughout, a marking of exterior anatomy, both as to joints and muscles, which would not have disgraced a high period of Greek art §.

* Flaxman, Lect. ii. Egypt. Sculpt. pp. 46–48. These observations of Flaxman, though marked by his usual good sense and judgment, require considerable limitations in the present state of our knowledge of Egyptian Antiquities. See British Museum, Egypt, vol. i. ii.

† No. 38 in the Egyptian Room. Engraved in the Library of Entertaining Knowledge, Egypt. Antiq. vol. i. p. 263.

‡ Egyptian Room, British Museum, No. 17.

§ Egyptian Room, No. 55. It is possible, however, that this figure may not be anterior to the Macedonian period.

The head of the fragment of the colossal statue, which goes by the name of the younger Memnon, which Belzoni brought from Thebes, presuming it to be older than the time of the Ptolemies, is remarkable for the expression of tranquillity and repose. Its high antiquity can hardly be doubted. The same expression of tranquillity marks the countenance of the colossal figure of Ipsambul *.

Among Mr. Payne Knight's bronzes in the British Museum, is one marked LI. 5 in his Catalogue, a bust of Isis, of very antient Egyptian work, of the most exquisite finish and preservation, supported by the sacred pectoral ornament of the Egyptian deities and priests; the whole five inches and three quarters high and six inches wide; on the top of the head a modius. The character of the face, though elegant, is distinctly African, and the lips, cheeks, and ears are finished with a degree of truth and delicacy equal almost to any thing left by the Greeks. It appears to have been hammered and carved, not cast; and the loops behind, by which it was tied round the body, prove that it was worn as a badge, probably by successive priests, as it seems to have been much used. It was purchased at the sale of Mr. Brand Hollis.

In the same collection of antient bronzes, are also several of Græco-Egyptian work of the Macedonian times; particularly, III. 2, a mask of Ammon in his Grecian form, with the horns of the ram affixed to the head of Jupiter; and LXXIII. 3, the ram of Ammon, or that god in his animal form, a bronze three inches and a half in height.

The Egyptian worship of the time spread itself

* Both are engraved in the Library of Entertaining Knowledge, Egyptian Antiquities, vol. i. pp. 132, 243, 253.

over the whole empire under Hadrian and his successors; and the multiplication of little images of Osiris, Isis, and Horus, as objects of private devotion, was endless *.

Among the splendid buildings which Hadrian erected in the grounds belonging to his villa near Tivoli, was a temple to which he gave the name of Canopus †, and which he decorated with such statues as were held in adoration by the antient Egyptians. The example thus set by the emperor was very generally followed by the people; and it is owing to this circumstance that so many imitations of Egyptian sculpture are found among the remains of Roman art ‡.

Several Alexandrine or Roman figures of Isis occur among the bronzes bequeathed to the British Museum by Mr. Payne Knight §, of which great numbers were continually made, from the time of Hadrian to that of Constantine, when the Egyptian, or rather the Alexandrine religion with various modifications had overspread the whole empire. These figures are draped after the Greek fashion.

Whether the *Etruscan* is to be considered as a distinct school of sculpture seems questionable. That there may have been works of art executed in Etruria before the arrival of the Greek colonists

* See Specimens of Ancient Sculpture, selected by the Society of Dilettanti, Dissert. p. iii.

† "Tiburtinam villam mire exædificavit, ita ut in ea et provinciarum et locorum celeberrima nomina inscriberet: velut Lyceum, Academiam, Prytaneum, Canopum, Pœcilen, Tempe vocaret: et, ut nihil prætermitteret, etiam inferos finxit." Spartianus in vita Hadriani.

‡ Description of the Ancient Terracottas in the British Museum, by Taylor Combe, esq. 4to. Lond. 1810, p. 20.

§ See particularly the bronzes marked in his catalogue LI. 1, 2, 3, 4.

in North Italy and South France, is probable; but it is justly observed by the writer of the Dissertation prefixed to the Sculptures published by the Dilettanti Society, that "the more rude and antient specimens are exactly in the same style as those of the very antient Greeks; from whom they appear to have learnt all they knew; and whose primitive style they continued to copy, after a more elegant and dignified manner, founded upon more enlarged principles, had been adopted by the Greeks themselves. Hence their works may be justly considered as Greek, or, at least, as close imitations of the Greek; they having always followed their archetypes strictly and servilely, though at a great distance, if reckoned by the scale of merit. The proximity of Italian colonies, where the arts were cultivated with the most brilliant success at a very early period, afforded them the most favourable opportunities of obtaining instruction; and if they availed themselves of it at all, it is rather wonderful that their progress should have been so slow, and comparatively imperfect *."

The hard and severe manner in which works were executed by the Etruscan artists became proverbial with the Romans. Quintilian has expressly distinguished it, in speaking of the works of some of the Greek sculptors in the *Tuscan* style. He says, "Callon and Egesias made statues in the harder style and very like the Tuscan figures: Calamis introduced a style which was not so stiff; and Myron made figures still more soft and bending."

The more elegant examples of Etruscan art now remaining are believed to have been executed after the subjugation of that people by the Romans †. Pliny states, that, at the time of their subjugation,

* Specimens of Antient Sculpture, Dissert. p. x.

† B. C. 280.

two thousand statues were taken from Volsinii alone*.

A very curious specimen of Etruscan art was recently purchased for the British Museum of the Chevalier Bröndsted, for the sum of sixty pounds†.

We now come to the history of sculpture in Greece. In her earliest productions Greece could lay no claim to superiority of merit over other countries. Her first efforts were rude: and the archaic period, as it is called, of Grecian art, extended through eight almost unknown centuries, nearly to the time of Phidias. The Greeks, however, having once attained to a just imitation of nature, did not rest in their exertions: they elevated and embel lished nature; uniting, as in the marbles of highest character in the Elgin collection, abstract perfections in individual forms; thus leaving a pattern to the world, which proved not merely an example for admiration, but the source of whatever excellence has been acquired by the artist even in the latest times.

The first sculptor among the Greeks, who obtained sufficient celebrity to ensure the existence of his name, was Dædalus, who is said to have lived three generations before the Trojan war, and, according to the most received chronology, about one thousand four hundred years before the birth of Christ; but of his epoch nothing credible is known‡. His principal and best authenticated works were large statues in

* "Signa quoque Tuscanica per terras dispersa, quæ in Etruria factitata non est dubium. Deorum tantum putarem ea fuisse, ni Metrodorus Scepsius, cui cognomen a Romani nominis odio inditum est, propter duo millia statuarum Volsinios expugnatos objiceret." Nat. Hist. lib. xxxiv. c. 7.

† An unknown head of the size of life, of Etruscan work, is preserved among Mr. Knight's bronzes in the Museum, LXX. 1.

‡ Introd. to the Dilettanti volume, p. xvi.

wood, some of which are said to have remained till the general destruction of art under the later Roman emperors. Though this is probably not true, we should bear in mind that there are now existing Egyptian figures in wood, of a greater age than is thus assigned to the wooden figure of Dædalus.

Homer, in the eighteenth book of the Iliad, compares the dance worked by Vulcan on the shield of Achilles to the chorus made for Ariadne by Dædalus, because, as Pausanias remarks, he had never beheld a more exquisite piece of art*.

Pausanias, speaking of a naked Hercules in wood, characterizes the style of Dædalus in distinct terms; he says, his works are indeed rude and uncomely in aspect, but yet have something of divinity in their appearance. He mentions several of Dædalus's statues in different books of the description of Greece†, and in one passage enumerates the specimens of Dædalian art which were then believed to be remaining. Of these, two were with the Bœotians, a statue of Hercules among the Thebans, and one of Trophonius with the people of Lebadea. There were the same number of wooden statues in Crete; one of Britomartis at Olus, and another of Minerva among the Cnossians. The Cretans also possessed a representation of the dance of Ariadne described by Homer; this was in marble. The Delians, too, had a wooden statue of Venus by Dædalus, of small size, the right hand decayed by time; this statue stood upon a square block or figure instead of feet. Pausanias, whose powers of belief were very capacious, was persuaded that Ariadne received this statue from Dædalus, and that when she followed Theseus she took it along with her. The Delians

* See Pausan. Arcad. c. xvi.; Iliad, lib. xviii.

† Post Eliaca, c. ii.; Achaica, c. iv.; Bœot. c. iii. xi. xxxix.

said that Theseus, when Ariadne was taken from him, dedicated this wooden statue of Venus to the Delian Apollo, that he might not, by taking it home with him, be reminded of his lost wife. Pausanias adds, "I do not know that any other works of Dædalus besides these remain. For those which the Argives dedicated in the Temple of Juno, and those which were brought to Gela, in Sicily, from Omphace, have all been destroyed by time *."

Flaxman, commenting upon the esteem and veneration in which Dædalus's great statue of Hercules was held, expresses a hope that we are not without some copy of it in gems, coins, or small bronzes, by which all the most famous works of antiquity were multiplied. "In the British Museum," he says, "as well as in other collections of Europe, are several small bronzes of a naked Hercules, whose right arm, holding a club, is raised to strike, whilst his left is extended, bearing the lion's skin as a shield. From the style of extreme antiquity in these statues—the rude attempt at bold action, which was the peculiarity of Dædalus—the general adoption of this action in the early ages—the traits of savage nature in the face and figure, expressed with little knowledge, but strong feeling—by the narrow loins, turgid muscles of the breast, thighs, and calves of the legs—we shall find reason to believe they are copied from the above-mentioned statue †."

But it is proper to observe that more than one artist existed of the name of Dædalus. Pausanias himself mentions a Sicyonian of this name, who, beside the statues of Timon and his son Æsypus,

* Pausan. Bœot. c. xl.

† Flaxman's Lectures on Sculpture, Lect. iii. p. 72, and Pl. xvi.

made for the Elians in the Altis a trophy of their Lacedæmonian victory *. The same writer likewise says, that, in remembrance of the reconciliation of Jupiter and Juno, after the pretended marriage of Jupiter with Platæa, the daughter of Asopus, a festival was celebrated by the Platæans which was termed Dædala, because the antients called wooden statues Dædala. The whole story, as Pausanias gives it, is a curious specimen of his antiquarian researches:— "Hera (Juno) having quarrelled with Jupiter about some matter or other, retired to Eubœa. Jupiter not being able to prevail on her to come back, went to consult Cithæron, at that time the king of Platæa. Now this Cithæron was one of the wisest men of the day. He advised Jupiter to get a wooden statue made, and to put it in a carriage drawn by a pair of oxen, and to give it out that he was marrying Platæa, the daughter of Asopus. Jupiter accordingly did as Cithæron advised. The news of this soon brought Juno, who coming up to the carriage, and tearing off the dress of the statue, was pleased to find that it was nothing but a wooden statue (*ξόανον*) in place of a young wife that she expected to find. Upon this she was reconciled to Jupiter; and to celebrate this reconciliation they keep a festival which is called *Dædala*, because those of olden time called wooden statues (*ξόανα*) by the name of *Dædala*. And they called such statues *Dædala*, as I think, before Dædalus, the son of Palamaon †, was born at Athens; and Dædalus got this

* Eliaca Pr. c. ii. It is to this Dædalus, in all probability, that the two brazen figures of youths drying themselves after bathing, mentioned by Pliny, Hist. Nat. lib. xxxiv. c. 8, are to be ascribed. Arrian mentions a sculptor of the name of Dædalus among the Bithynians.

† Apollodorus, lib. iii. c. 15, says the name of the father of Dædalus was Eupalamus.

name because he made wooden statues called Dædala, having had a different name at his birth *."

Endoius, an Athenian by birth, was the disciple of

* Bœot. c. iii. The name of Dædalus among the antients must have been synonymous with universal genius ; for this same person is stated not only to have made the labyrinth of Crete, and to have been the greatest sculptor of his time, but to have been also the inventor of the wedge, and of wings, with which last he fled from Crete to avoid the revenge of Minos. These last, however, are believed, by some critics, to have been only the sails of the vessel which bore him away from the island, the use of which for ships is said to have been unknown previous to his flight. Dædalus, by possibility, might have been a name given to a train of artists. M. Quatremère de Quincy is of this opinion in his 'Jupiter Olympien,' p. 170, "Le nom de Dédale," he subsequently says, "aura été par la suite appliqué à tous ces ouvrages anonymes, enfantés durant cette nuit des temps, dont aucune tradition historique ne pouvait même jadis dissiper les ténèbres. L'ancien Dédale aura joué, dans l'opinion des Grecs, un rôle tout-à-fait semblable à celui que l'opinion religieuse des modernes fit jouer pendant long-temps à Saint-Luc, auquel on attribuait les plus vieux ouvrages de peinture, et tous ces tableaux noirs ou noircis par le temps, qui ne portaient et n'avaient conservé ni date ni nom. Saint-Luc eut aussi de prétendus élèves: ce qui signifie qu'avant l'école de Cimabué et de Giotto, au treizième siecle, il y avait eu des peintres si ignorants, que leurs noms n'avaient pu s'attacher à leurs tableaux." Ibid. p. 174.

Lord Aberdeen, in his Inquiry into the Principles of Beauty in Grecian Architecture, considers that the epithet Dædalian implied nothing more than skilful. Goguet, Orig. des Loix, tom. ii. p. 11, has refuted some of the antient accounts of this artist.

It is worthy of notice, that Homer, who could not have spoken of works of art in the terms which he has used, without having seen them, ascribes to Hephæstus, usually considered as Vulcan, the honour of making Achilles's shield; and Odyss. vii. 91, he speaks of the gold and silver dogs of Alcinous as made by the same hand. It would seem as if Hephæstus was a generic term for some very early artist, whose real history was forgotten. It also tends to connect early Grecian art with Egyptian. Dædalus also, according to Diodorus, worked in Egypt. See Diodorus, I. 97, 98.

Hephæstus was, in fact, the general representative of early workers in metal, and Dædalus of those in wood.

Dædalus, and is said to have followed him to Crete. Pausanias mentions three works of this artist; a sitting Minerva at Athens, which had an inscription signifying that it was dedicated by Callias, and made by Endoius*; a wooden statue of Minerva Polias at Erythræ, of large size†; and a statue of Minerva Alea of ivory‡. The head of Minerva, engraved from an Athenian coin in the vignette of the Dilettanti Society's volume, p. 128, fig. 1, is supposed to have been copied from Endoius's sitting figure of the goddess at Athens.

Smilis, of Ægina, was another contemporary of Dædalus. He made the antient statue of Juno at Samos; but Pausanias says he was not equal to Dædalus in skill§.

Wood‖, plaster, and clay¶, appear to have been amongst the earliest materials used by the Greeks in their sculpture. Ivory for the purpose of inlaying, and gold, were no doubt introduced somewhat later. The olive wood was much in request for statues of Minerva; and at Temnos was a statue of Venus, made from the female myrtle**. Even Phidias, in the most improved period of art, worked

* Attica, c. xxvi.
† Achaica, c. v.
‡ Arcad. c. xlvii.
§ Achaica, c. iv.
‖ Pausanias frequently dwells upon the antiquity of wooden figures. In his Corinthiaca, c. xix., he says, that all the earliest statues, especially the Egyptian, were of wood:—*ξόανα γὰρ δὴ τότε εἶναι πείθομαι πάντα, καὶ μάλιστα τὰ Αἰγύπτια.* In the Bœotica, c. xvi., we are told the Thebans had wooden statues of Venus so antient, that they were said to have been dedicated by Harmonia, and to have been made from the *rostra* of the ships of Cadmus. In the temple of Polias was a wooden statue of Mercury, reputed to have been the gift of Cecrops. Attica, c. xxvii. All trees not liable to rot, or to be worm-eaten, were used for statues.
¶ Attica, c. ii. iii. xl.
** Eliaca Pr. c. xiii.

in wood *. The time when the Grecian artists first used bronze is not ascertained; but Mr. Knight was of opinion that the employment of metal instead of wood in sculpture began about the year 869 B. C., after Phidon of Argos had introduced the stamping of money †. Homer's description of the shield of Achilles however clearly shows, if the passage be genuine, that the art of design and the working of figures in metal, was brought to a great height of perfection even in his time. Dipœnus and Scillis, about the 50th Olympiad, 580 B. C., are said to have been the first who were famed for sculpture in marble ‡. Pausanias several times mentions statues of wood, which had the face, hands, and feet of stone §. It is more than probable that the use of marble in sculpture, in the earliest times, was in bas-reliefs alone. Dipœnus and Scillis were probably the first who employed this material in entire statues; the weight and brittleness of marble rendered a care necessary in connecting projecting parts and balancing the figure, not likely to have entered the mind of a sculptor in the infancy of his art.

Pliny and Pausanias have detailed to us the different methods used by the Greek sculptors in the fabrication of their metal statues.

Pausanias, in his Laconica, speaks of a brazen

* Pausan. Bœot. c. iv. At Corinth Pausanias mentions two statues, one of the Ephesian Diana, and another of Bacchus, in wood gilt, except the faces, which were covered with vermilion. Wooden figures, with faces covered with vermilion, are mentioned in the Wisdom of Solomon, c. xi.

† Sculptures, published by the Dilettanti Society, vol. i. p. xviii.

‡ "Marmore scalpendo primi omnium inclaruerunt Dipœnus et Scyllis, geniti in Creta insula, etiamnum Medis imperantibus, priusque quam Cyrus in Persis regnare inciperet, hoc est Olympiade circiter L." Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. xxxvi. c. 4.

§ Achaica, c. xxi. xxiii.; Arcad. c. xxv. xxxi.; Bœot. c. iv.

statue of Jupiter at Lacedæmon, the most antient of all the works in that metal then known. It was of hammer-work; not fabricated in a single piece, but in separate portions, which were afterwards closely riveted together: the name of the artist who formed it was Learchus, a native of Rhegium in Italy, whom some spoke of as the disciple of Dipœnus and Scillis, and others of Dædalus himself.

Gitiadas, a citizen of Lacedæmon, who lived before the first Messenian war, about a hundréd and twenty years after the time of Phidon, made several statues of this hammer-work, which were extant in the time of Pausanias. Laconica, c. xvii. The time when he lived is expressly mentioned by Pausanias, Ibid. c. xviii. Among Mr. Knight's bronzes, now in the Museum, III. 1, is a sitting figure of Ammon, composed of a ram's head upon a human body, one foot ten inches high, of the kind of fabrication here described. It is formed of three pieces of solid brass, beaten together till the tangent surfaces were fitted to each other, none of them appearing to have been cast in moulds, but to have been first hammered and then cut into shape. Mr. Knight thought it a specimen of the earliest Egyptian style. It was found in Upper Egypt, and purchased at Cairo by the late Duke de Chaulnes. Mr. Knight described it in the Dilettanti volume, in which it is engraved, pl. I. It is also engraved in the Library of Entertaining Knowledge, Egyptian Antiquities, vol. i. p. 228. We are, however, of opinion that its high antiquity can in no way be proved, even rendered probable.

In his Arcadica, chapter xiv., when speaking of the statue of Equestrian Neptune, which tradition reported to have been dedicated by Ulysses, Pausanias says, he could not believe this, because at that time they did not know how to make statues of solid brass

or bronze, but fabricated them from laminæ, placed one over another, like the weaving of a garment; that is, of plates, carved and chased into the forms required. This seems to have been an improvement upon the first hammered-work: the former method, it is probable, was most used for figures of a small size; the latter for colossal statues, as in the case of the Apollo of Amyclæ, when adorned with the gold which Crœsus, king of Lydia, had sent for the statue of the Pythian Apollo *.

In the same chapter, which speaks of the statue of Equestrian Neptune, Pausanias informs us that Rhœcus the son of Philæus, and Theodorus the son of Telecles, both Samians, first taught how to cast brass and melt it into statues †. These sculptors are generally believed to have lived in the middle of the sixth century before the Christan era; but Pliny places them earlier, even long before the expulsion of the Bacchiadæ from Corinth by Cypselus, which took place about the thirteenth Olympiad.

Pliny, however, gives more than one tradition respecting the plastic art, or modelling in clay. The Corinthians, he says, attributed the invention of it to Dibutades, a Sicyonian potter; and that it was also ascribed to Demaratus, who flying from the tyranny

* Pausan. Laconica, c. x. The golden statue of Jupiter, dedicated by Cypselus at Olympia, between 659 and 629 before the Christian era, was of this kind of hammer-work, and was consequently termed *σφυρήλατος*, which is, *hammer-worked.* See Strabo, lib. viii. The overlaying of images with gold and silver is alluded to in Habakkuk, chap. ii. ver. 19.

† *Διέχεαν δὲ χαλκὸν πρῶτοι καὶ ἀγάλματα ἐχωνεύσαντο Ῥοῖκός τε Φιλαίου καὶ Θεόδωρος Τηλεκλέους Σάμιοι.* Herodotus mentions both these artists. The first as having been the architect of the temple of Samos; the other as having engraved the ring of Polycrates. The building called Scias, at Lacedæmon, was the work of Theodorus.

of Cypselus, the expeller of the Bacchiadæ from Corinth, brought it into Italy by means of Euchir and Eugrammus, two Corinthian artists, who accompanied him. This tradition, as Mr. Knight remarks, corresponds better with the evidence of existing monuments than any other. He supposes the art to have been generally known in Greece and her colonies as early as the seventh century before the Christian era, and to have been brought to its perfection by Rhœcus and Theodorus *.

The modelling of figures in clay, however, must have been a distinct invention, preceding that of the taking moulds from the figures when hardened. We learn from a passage in Pausanias, (Attica, cap. 40,) that it was usual to model the statues in clay and gypsum. "In the Olympieium of Megara is a temple worth visiting. The statue of Jupiter was not finished in consequence of the breaking out of the Peloponnesian war, during which the Athenians annually ravaged Megaris, and reduced the people to the greatest necessity. The face of the statue is made of ivory and gold; the rest of clay and gypsum. They say that Theocosmus, a native, made this statue with the assistance of Phidias.—Behind the temple are some pieces of wood lying, half worked, which it was the intention of Theocosmus to adorn with gold and ivory, and thus finish the statue." From this it appears that the clay and gypsum part of the figure was the mould, on which the wood-work was fixed; the wood was then inlaid with ivory, secured by gold. The casting in moulds is most generally ascribed to Rhœcus and Theodorus. This last invention evidently formed an epoch in the history of sculpture, as far as the art relates to statues. Pasiteles, a self-taught artist, mentioned both by Pliny and

* Dilettanti volume, Introd. p. xxxii. See Niebuhr's Roman History, i. 130.

Pausanias, was accustomed to say, that the plastic art was the parent of sculpture of every kind. By referring to the words of Pliny * below, we shall see that Pasiteles made three divisions, to all of which he assigned the *plastic* art, or the modelling art, as the origin. These divisions are—*statuary*, or the art of making complete figures in any material; *sculpture*, or the art of cutting *marble* into statues, bas-reliefs, and ornamental pieces for architecture, &c.; and, thirdly, *chasing* (cælatura), or the art of working forms on hammered or hollowed out plates of metal, either for bas-reliefs generally, or as a coating to some other material.

Theodorus of Samos, it appears, likewise cast figures of iron †.

Pausanias could find no works of Theodorus in brass, remaining in his time; but he mentions one, in the temple of the Ephesian Diana, by Rhœcus ‡. Mr. Knight believed himself to be the possessor of one of Rhœcus's works, which is now in the British Museum, a head of Diomede of the size of life, a fragment of a statue §.

* Pliny's words are: "Laudat et Pasitelem, qui plasticen matrem statuariæ, scalpturæque, et *cælaturæ* esse dixit: et cum esset in omnibus his summus, *nihil umquam fecit* antequam FINXIT."—Plin. Hist. Nat. xxxv. 12.

† Pausan. Laconica, c. xiv. In his Phocica, Pausanias, describing the stand of the bowl of Halyattes which existed to the time of his visit, informs us, after Herodotus (i. 25), that Glaucus, a native of Chios, first discovered the art of soldering iron. c. xvi. Other works in that metal, which he notices, c. xviii., are a group of Hercules and the Hydra by an artist named Tisagoras, and the heads of a lion and a boar which he saw in Pergamus, dedicated to Bacchus. In his Messenica, c. xxxi., Pausanias mentions a statue of Epaminondas made of iron.

‡ Phocica, c. xxxviii.

§ Mr. Knight's Bronze, xxvii. 1. Just within the cavity, opposite the left ear, is the Greek letter ϱ in high relief; conjectured to be for Rhœcus of Samos, because the name of no other

It was fortunate for later times that so many of the finest works of antient sculpture were executed in bronze, a material which, whilst its hardness was favourable to the perpetuity of the art, afforded no great temptation by its value to the spoiler. Sculpture in the richer metals has, for the most part, long since perished: even the transcendent merits of Phidias's ivory statues proved no protection to the gold with which they were adorned.

The most antient monument of Grecian sculpture now extant is believed to be the bas-relief, upon a single stone, nine feet in height and about thirteen feet in width, in the portal to the gates of Mycenæ, representing two lions sitting face toward face against the sides of a column, their hinder feet resting on the lower part of the block over the lintel of the gate, and their front feet upon the prolonged pedestal of the column*, the whole sufficiently entire to give a notion of style. The substance in which they are cut is a compact limestone, of a green hue, resembling in appearance the green basalt of Egypt.

A later specimen of the archaic period of bas-relief may be seen in the sculptured Metopes, found at Selinus in Sicily, by Messrs. Angell and Harris, in the month of March, 1823, casts of which were till lately placed in the same room with the Phigaleian collection in the British Museum†. The originals were deposited by the Neapolitan government in the museum at Palermo.

antient sculptor upon record begins with that letter. It is certainly of high antiquity. It was sent from Rome in the year 1785.

* Dilettanti volume, p. xvi. Flaxm. Lectures, pl. xiv. Pausanias says, that this was reputed to be the work of the Cyclops. Corinthiaca, c. xvi. The best representation of this antient bas-relief is probably preserved among Lord Elgin's Drawings in the British Museum.

† They are now placed in a room appropriated chiefly to Casts from architectural sculptures, Greek and Roman.

One of these metopes, from the central temple of the eastern hill at Selinus, consisted of two blocks of stone, which were joined together by metal cramps. The lower part only now remains; the subject is a combat between a warrior and a female: the warrior in a kneeling posture, apparently yielding to the superior force of his adversary.

Three metopes, from the central temple of the western hill of Selinus, are more perfect in condition. The subject of one is a quadriga and three figures; one a youth standing in the car, holding the reins of the horses with his left hand, the right hand wanting, as well as the upper part of the body and the neck of the figure. The horses, in front of the quadriga, are not represented in action, but appear just ready for the course; they are very highly relieved, the heads, necks, and fore-legs being quite detached from the ground of the metope. This subject is supposed to represent Pelops preparing for his race with Œnomaus, a story which Pausanias mentions as sculptured in front of the temple of Jupiter at Olympia. The second of the metopes, from the central temple of the western hill, represents Perseus in the act of slaying Medusa in the presence of Minerva. A coin also of Selinus has the head of Medusa on it. A third metope, from the same temple, has for its subject the adventure of Hercules, surnamed Melampygos, with the Cercopes, who having endeavoured to rob him, were bound hand and foot, fastened to his bow, and carried away with their heads downwards. These three last metopes are four feet nine inches in height by three feet eight inches in width.

In these sculptures there is a dry hardness of manner, not without expression; the general attitudes of the figures are simple; the bodies disproportionately short, and the waists much contracted; the heads and upper parts of the bodies appear as

viewed in front, while the legs and feet are generally shown in profile. The eyes are large and fixed, and there is a peculiar expression in the mouths: the hair is long and plaited, falling down in front over the shoulders. The execution of the hair is extremely formal, nearly approaching to the manner in which it is represented upon the Egyptian statues. One or two of the figures strongly resemble the forms upon the coins of Posidonia.

Sicily kept pace in civilization and the arts with the most refined of the Grecian states, which, even were historians silent on the subject, the architectural remains at Syracuse, Agrigentum, and Selinus would sufficiently attest. In sculpture, or the art of design, taken upon a small scale, the coins of Syracuse alone give proof that Sicily went even before the mother country.

Selinus was founded about the year 620 B.C., and taken and sacked by the Carthaginians 409 B.C. It was again restored, and not finally destroyed till one hundred and forty years afterwards. It had six temples, from the ruins of the two principal of which the metopes above described were obtained.

These Selinuntine sculptures may, without presumption, be referred to the first period of the history of Selinus: the coins of that city, in its second period, exhibit a state of art, at least upon a small scale, far superior to the bas-reliefs. The early style of the architecture of the temples too, and more particularly the proportion of the columns justify this belief. The grandeur of the works moreover is inconsistent with the state of weakness and comparative insignificance to which the city was reduced, and in which it remained till its final demolition*.

* Compare the account of the "Sculptured Metopes, discovered amongst the ruins of the temples of the antient city of Selinus in

Of a higher character, though still marked by Etruscan hardness, are the marbles of Ægina, now in the Royal Museum at Münich. They were probably executed in the age immediately preceding the time of Pericles; and exhibit an advance in the art of sculpture which, however interrupted by a succession of destructive wars, was about to approach a perfection of taste which no country has since surpassed. Outlines from a set of casts from these marbles, deposited in the Liverpool Royal Institution, have been recently engraved from drawings by Mr. Edwin Lyon*.

The Phigaleian marbles will form a portion of a second volume of the present work. The subjects represented upon them are similar to two classes of the bas-reliefs which adorned the Parthenon. The Parthenon and the temple of Apollo Epicurius near Phigaleia, it will be remembered, were built by the same architect, and a comparison of the sculptures of the two buildings leaves little room to doubt that the Phigaleian were the early, and the Parthenon sculptures the finished productions of the same school of art. More pains were bestowed on the execution of the sculptures of the Parthenon, as would naturally be the case for the greater magnificence of the temple, and its locality in the most civilized city of the age.

Such was the practice of sculpture to the time of Phidias. In the more advanced of the periods we have described, the sculptors of Greece enjoyed advantages beyond other nations. Some encouragement arose to them from the universal esteem in which the fine arts were held. In the way of study, the public games, in which the competitors appeared

Sicily; described by Samuel Angell and Thomas Evans." 4to. Lond. 1826. See also Thiersch's *Epochen der Bildenden Kunst*, 404, 422.

* Fol. Liverp. 1829.

for the most part naked *, accustomed the artists to the contemplation of the human form in all its varieties of action and attitude; and led them to catch those transitory graces, which are not seen in a stationary model. But, above all, the religion of the Greeks which led them to embody the attributes of their gods in human shape, taught the artist not only to imitate the selected beauties of nature, but to combine them in the elevated forms of their divinities. It is to this combination of the power of art with religious veneration that we probably owe the finest conceptions of the best time of Phidias's school.

* See Thucydides, i. 6.

Chapter VI.

PHIDIAS AND HIS CONTEMPORARIES.

Phidias, the great master of the art of statuary, was born at Athens in the 73d Olympiad, about four hundred and eighty-eight years before Christ. He was the son of Charmidas; and, as Pliny informs us, was at first a painter. Eladas, the Argive*, and Hippias†, are said to have been his instructors in the art of sculpture.

Of the rudiments of his education we are uninformed; but Athens was, at this time, the great school of arts and letters: from Homer, whose poems he had deeply studied, he drew images of greatness, which he afterwards moulded in earthly materials with a kindred spirit‡; and it is presumed, that the discourses of contemporary philosophers on mental and personal perfection, contributed in no slight degree to stamp his works with a character of sublimity. His mind was adorned with all the knowledge which could be useful to his profession. Phidias was also skilled in history, poetry, fable, geometry, and the optics of that day; and whilst Pericles commanded the treasury of Athens and the allied states, had the means of giving full scope to the efforts of his genius.

In the art of making statues in bronze, both for the

* Schol. in Aristoph. Ranas. † Pausanias.

‡ Valer. Max. lib. iii. c. 7. Externa, 4.

number and excellence of his works, Phidias was without a rival. In the production of ivory statues, also, he stood alone; nor did he disdain to work in the meaner materials of wood or clay, or to execute articles of the smallest mechanism*.

His talent, however, lay chiefly in representing the gods; though, as Cicero observes, he did not copy their features and resemblances from any visible objects, but formed to himself an idea of true beauty, upon which he constantly fixed his attention, and which became his rule and model, and guided at once both his design and his hand†.

This was the man to whom Pericles, in the day of his greatness, consigned the direction of the public works of Athens; and under whose choice of workmen the temple of the Parthenon was produced.

The chryselephantine statue of Minerva, with which Phidias himself adorned the interior of this building, will hereafter be minutely described, and the circumstance adverted to of his introducing his own figure upon the shield, old and bald, uplifting a stone. Cicero, in his Tusculan Questions, says that Phidias resorted to this method of perpetuating his memory because he was not allowed to inscribe his name upon the statue‡. Aristotle informs us, that Phidias added ingenuity to this solicitude, and so constructed the

* As fish and flies; such was the tradition of his fame. See Jul. Imperat. Epist. viii. Martial, noticing some fish which Phidias had sculptured, commends their truth to nature in three words—"adde aquam, natabunt,"—"give them water, and they will swim." Lib. iii. 35. See also Niceph. Greg. Hist. lib. viii.

† Cicero. ad Marc. Brut. Orator.

‡ "Opifices post mortem nobilitari volunt. Quid enim Phidias sui similem speciem inclusit in clypeo Minervæ, cum inscribere non liceret." Tusc. Quæst. lib. i. Plutarch, however, in his Life of Pericles, asserts that Phidias's name was upon the pedestal. It might have been placed there at a later period.

shield, that should any one remove his figure from the group in which it was placed, the whole would fall to pieces*.

"The most excellent artists," says Rollin, "affected to insert their names in their works, in order to partake of the immortality they gave others. Myron, to immortalize his name, put it in characters almost imperceptible upon one of the thighs of the statue of Apollo: and Pliny relates, that two Lacedæmonian architects, Saurus and Batrachus, without accepting any reward, built some temples in a part of the city of Rome, which Octavia caused afterwards to be enclosed with galleries. They flattered themselves that they should have liberty to put their names upon them, but were refused: their address, however, relieved them from their difficulty; they threw in, by way of ornament, lizards and frogs upon the bases and capitals of the columns. The name of Saurus was implied by the lizard, which the Greeks called *σαῦρα*; and that of Batrachus by the frog, which they called *βάτραχος*."

Pausanias mentions two other ivory and gold statues of Minerva, which were made by Phidias; one preserved at Pellene, and the other with the Eleans†. That of Pellene was the earliest of Phidias's statues of the goddess in toreutic work‡. The Eleans had

* Aristot. de Mundo. See also L. Apuleius de Mundo. 4°. Par. 1688, p. 746.

† Paus. Achaica, c. xxvii. Eliac. Poster. c. xxv.

‡ The modern commentators and writers upon art have differed much upon the precise meaning of this term, which appears to have been applicable to sculpture only when a variety of materials, including metal of some description, were used. Pliny speaks of it as brought to perfection by Polycletus. Ivory, as combined with gold, formed a branch of the toreutic art. The reader who wishes for extensive information on this subject, may consult the second part of M. Quatremère de Quincy's 'Jupiter Olympien,'

also a celestial Venus, with one foot upon a tortoise, by Phidias, of ivory and gold *. Athenagoras ascribes to him the ivory statue of Æsculapius at Epidaurus †; and he is said to have assisted Theocosmus in making for the people of Megara a statue of Jupiter, the face of which was ivory and gold, and the other parts of clay and plaster ‡.

The Platæans, says Pausanias, have a temple of Athena (Minerva) Areia, which was raised from the spoils given to them by the Athenians after the battle of Marathon. The statue of the goddess is of wood gilt, except the face and the extremities of the hands and feet, which are of Pentelic stone §. In his Phocica he enumerates various other statues mentioned in an inscription at Delphi, all made from the tenths of the Marathonian spoil, and all attributed to Phidias ‖.

Of Phidias's bronze statues, two were in the Acropolis at Athens; also made from the tenths of the spoils of war. One was the Minerva which stood in the open air, and which is represented upon the re-

containing his 'Analyse Explicative de la Toreutique,' p. 75—132, and Library of Entertaining Knowledge, the Elephant. The Count de Caylus, as well as some other antiquaries, have criticised the real taste of gold and ivory statues; the merit and perfection of the work might be great, but the combination of gold, ivory, and colours must have been gaudy in the extreme.

* Eliac. Poster. ch. xxv.

† Athenagoræ Legatio pro Christianis, 8° Oxf. 1706, p. 61, line 10, ὁ ἐν Ἐπιδαύρῳ Ἀσκλήπιος, ἔργον Φειδίου. Pausanias ascribes this statue to Thrasymedes, the son of Arignotus, a man of Paros. See more of this statue, with an engraved restoration, in M. Quatremère de Quincy's 'Jupiter Olympien,' p. 352, et seqq.

‡ Attica, ch. xl. See above, p. 110. § Bœot. ch. iv.

‖ These were Minerva, Apollo, Miltiades, Erectheus, Cecrops, Pandion, Celeus, Antiochus the son of Hercules by Midea, Ægeus, Acamas, Codrus the son of Melanthus, Theseus, and Phyleus.

verse of one of the Athenian coins; the other was the Minerva dedicated by the Lemnians, and thence called Minerva Lemnia, of which Pausanias speaks in terms of particular admiration*. An Apollo of bronze, with-outside the temple of the Parthenon, was also ascribed to Phidias†.

Pliny mentions his Amazon in bronze, with his Minerva Callimorphos; the former called Eucnemos, from the extreme beauty of the leg‡. He likewise speaks of the figure of a key-bearer; a Minerva, which Æmilius Paulus brought to Rome, and dedicated in the temple of Fortune there; two statues of persons in mantles, which Catullus dedicated in the same temple; and a naked colossus,—all ascribed to Phidias §.

With respect to marble statues, several are enumerated by Pliny and Pausanias, as works of Phidias; more especially one of Nemesis, the goddess of vengeance, at Rhamnus, made, in derision, from the block of Parian marble which the Persians had brought thither to erect as a trophy of their expected victory at Marathon‖. A fragment, believed to be the head of the statue here described by Pausanias, was presented to the British Museum in 1820, and is placed in the Elgin room. In fairness, however, it must be acknowledged, that all writers are not agreed that Phidias was the sculptor of this statue. The writer of the letter-press to the 'Unedited Antiquities of Attica,' fol. Lond. 1817, says, "The story of the statue, which Pausanias details from report, six hundred years after the battle of Marathon, was probably one of the many fables attached to Grecian history. It is certain, that the marble of the statue

* Attic. ch. xxviii. † Ibid. ch. xxiv.

‡ Engraved in the Museo Pio Clementino.

§ Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. xxviv. c. 19. edit. Hardouin, p. 649.

‖ See Pausanias's description of this statue, Attic. ch. xxxiii.

is not Parian, but Pentelican, like the blocks of the buildings. Other writers relate, that the statue was the work of Agaracritus, a pupil of Phidias, and omit altogether the circumstances detailed by Pausanias."

Other marble statues attributed to Phidias, are a Mercury in the temple of Ismenian Apollo at Thebes*; a Venus in the Forum of Octavia at Rome†; the Venus Urania, in Parian marble, in the temple of that goddess in Attica‡; and one of the colossal statues on the Esquiline hill§.

Singular, however, as it may seem, and in defiance of the testimonies here recorded, it was asserted, when the Elgin sculptures first arrived in England, that Phidias had never worked in marble‖. Visconti's answer to this assertion is worth the reader's notice. "If it were imagined that Phidias devoted himself to the toreutic art, and that he employed in his works only ivory and metals, this opinion would be confuted by Aristotle, who distinguishes this great artist by the appellation of *σοφὸς λιθουργὸς a skilful sculptor of marble*, in opposition to Polycletus, whom he calls simply a statuary, *ἀνδριαντοποιὸς*, since this latter artist scarcely ever employed his talents except in bronze¶. In fact, several marble statues of Phidias were known to Pliny, who might even have seen some of them in Rome, since they had been removed

* Pausan. Bœot. ch. x.

† Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. xxxvi. ch. 4. edit. Hardouin, p. 725.

‡ Pausan. Attic. ch. xiv.

§ The inscription upon this figure—"The work of Phidias," is of later date. "The attitude of the hero, as well as the horse," says Flaxman, "resembles a bas-relief on the Parthenon; and for that reason, in addition to the style and spirit of the work, is likely to have been executed under the direction of Phidias." Lect. ix. p. 279.

‖ See the Evidence given before a Committee of the House of Commons by R. P. Knight, Esq. and William Wilkins, Esq., appended to the Committee's Report, 25th March, 1816, pp. 39, 45.

¶ Ethic. Nicom. lib. vi. c. 7.

to this city; and the most famous work of Alcamenes, the Venus of the Gardens, had only, as it was said, acquired so high a degree of perfection, because Phidias, his master, had himself taken pleasure in finishing with his own hand * this beautiful statue of marble†."

In addition to this, when we know that the Parthenon was built under the control of the sculptor himself ‡, and that its exterior decoration consisted of the only three varieties of which sculpture is capable, the perfect statue of the pediment, the high and half-detached relief of the metopes, and the low relief of the frieze, each justly and beautifully appropriated, to what other conclusion can we come than that the compositions which adorned the edifice were designed and directed, if not in part executed, by the sculptor himself. Pliny expressly says, that Phidias was reputed to have worked in marble §; Seneca

* Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. xxxvi. c. 4. "In the Augustan age, and in that immediately subsequent to it, it was generally believed, not only that Phidias frequently caused the names of his pupils to be inscribed on his own statues, but that he had given instances of the greatest skill in finishing the works of other artists. Amongst these last was the above-mentioned statue of Aphrodite ἐν κήποις, by Alcamenes. To this extraordinary talent, which we must suppose was chiefly exercised in works of marble, Cicero alludes in the fourth book de Finibus Bon. et Mal. "Ut Phidias potest a principio instituere signum, idque perficere: potest ab alio inchoatum accipere et absolvere." Memorandum on the subject of the Earl of Elgin's Pursuits in Greece, 2d. edit. 8vo. p. 62.

† Visconti, Memoir on the Sculpt. of the Parthenon, pp. 3, 4.

‡ Plutarch, Pericl. 13. *πάντα δὲ διεῖπε καὶ πάντων ἐπίσκοπος ἦν αὐτῷ Φειδίας καίτοι μεγάλους ἀρχιτέκτονας ἐχόντων καὶ τεχνίτας τῶν ἔργων.*

§ "Et ipsum Phidiam tradunt sculpsisse marmora, Veneremque ejus esse Romæ in Octaviæ operibus eximæ pulchritudinis." Plin. ut supr. edit. Hardouin, p. 725. C. Odofr. Mueller, in his Commentary on the Life of Phidias, Comment. Societ. Regiæ Scientiar. Gottingensis recentiores, tom. vi. 4to. Gotting. 1828, p. 156, note, considers Phidias to have been the sculptor of the marble in the Townley collection, Room vi. No. 23, which is designated as the tomb of Xanthippus, the father of Pericles.

bears a similar testimony *; and the remarkable fact, recorded by Valerius Maximus, corroborates the belief still further: he states, that the Minerva of the Parthenon, if Phidias could have executed his own intentions, would have been a marble statue; but the Athenians themselves rejected his choice, and insisted on having their Minerva of the more costly material †.

A chryselephantine statue, which has not yet been mentioned, raised Phidias's fame above all the sculptors of Greece: we allude to his statue at Elis; in the opinion of Greece and of succeeding ages, the best of his productions ‡.

Athens had shown ingratitude not only to Pericles, but to his friend and favourite artist; and, according to some, Phidias withdrew privately to Elis. Seneca intimates that he went there by a compact with the Athenians §. Certain it is that in the Altis, or grove, as the word signifies, in the neighbourhood of Olympia, he employed his industry in forming a statue which surpassed his Minerva. This statue was in the temple of the Altis. Jupiter was represented seated upon a throne, which, like the statue, was of ivory and gold; he bore a crown upon his head in imitation of a

* "Non ex ebore tantum Phidias sciebat facere simulachra; faciebat et ex ære. Si marmor illi, si adhuc viliorem materiam obtulisses, fecisset quale ex illa fieri optimum potuisset." Seneca, Epist. lxxxv.

† "Iidem Phidiam tulerunt, quamdiu is marmore potius quam ebore Minervam fieri debere dicebat, quod diutius nitor esset mansurus; sed ut adjecit et vilius, tacere jusserunt." Valer. Max. lib. i. c. i. Externa, 7.

‡ So Pliny, "Jovem Olympium, quem nemo æmulatur."—Nat. Hist. lib. xxxiv. c. 19. edit. Hardouin, p. 649. And again, p. 725, "Phidiam clarissimum esse per omnes gentes quæ Jovis Olympii famam intelligunt nemo dubitat."

§ "Elei ab Atheniensibus Phidiam acceperunt, ut is Jovem Olympium faceret, pacto interposito, ut aut Phidiam aut centum talenta redderent." Seneca, Rhet. ii. 8.

branch of the olive tree; in his right hand was a figure of Victory, also of gold and ivory, with a fillet and a crown upon its head. His left hand held a sceptre of exquisite workmanship, on the top of which was an eagle, and in the composition of which all kinds of metals were blended. The sandals and robe of the figure were of gold; and upon the garment itself were represented animals and flowers. The throne was variegated with gold and precious stones, and inlaid with ebony and ivory; it was also adorned with pictures of animals and statues; four figures of Victory, in a dancing attitude, were represented at the four feet. Two other Victories stood at the feet of the god; and the pedestal upon which the whole rested was adorned with mythological compositions *. The exact dimensions of the figure are lost, but it is believed to have been near sixty feet in height †. Phidias is supposed to have made this statue between the third year of the 85th and the third year of the 86th Olympiad, between 438 and 434 B. C. ‡.

When a friend inquired of Phidias from what pattern he had formed his Olympian Jupiter, he is said to have answered by repeating those lines of the first Iliad, in which the poet represents the majesty of the god in the most sublime terms §; thereby signifying that the genius of Homer had inspired him with it ‖. Those who beheld this statue are said to have been so struck with it as to have asked whether Jupiter had descended from heaven to show himself to Phidias, or whether Phidias had been carried thither to contem-

* Pausan. Eliac. pr. c. xi.

† Strabo. Callimachus is said to have recorded the dimensions in iambic verses, which have not come down to us. The temple of Jupiter Olympius, from the floor to the aëtoi, which sustained the roof, was sixty-eight Greek feet high; its breadth was ninety-five feet, and its length two hundred and thirty.

‡ C. O. Mueller, de Phidiæ Vita Commentatio.

§ Iliad, A. v. 529. ‖ Val. Max. lib. iii. c. 7.

plate the god *. Quintilian tells us that the majesty of the work equalled that of the god himself, and that it added somewhat to the religion of those who saw it †. Pausanias records a tale of Jupiter evincing his own approbation of Phidias's art ‡.

The workshop in which the statue was produced § was long preserved after Phidias's death; and, as Pausanias tells us, was visited out of curiosity by travellers. The Eleans, in honour of the sculptor, instituted an office in favour of his descendants, whose duty consisted in preserving the statue from any thing which might sully its beauty. Pausanias says, it was occasionally rubbed with oil, on account of the damps which arose in the temple where it was placed. The Minerva of the Parthenon, on the contrary, required to be sprinkled with water. At the base was this inscription: "Phidias, the Athenian, the son of Charmidas, made me ‖;" but whether placed there by Phidias, or at a later time, is uncertain.

If more were wanting to impress us with a sense of Phidias's merit, we might consult the numerous passages of antient authors for a series of seven centuries, in which the works or the art of this eminent man are alluded to; we find them scattered through various Greek and Roman writers from Aristotle to Macrobius. Aristotle died 322 years B. C.; Macrobius lived at the close of the fourth century. Phidias is

* See the epigram in the Anthologia, lib. iv. c. 6.

Ἦ Θεὸς ἦλθ' επὶ γῆν ἐξ ὐρανῦ εἰκόνα δείξων,
Φειδία, ἢ σύγ' ἔβης τὸν Θεὸν ὀψόμενος.

† The sitting figure of Jupiter on the silver coins of Alexander the Great, and several of his successors, appears to have been copied, with slight variations, from this statue. Compare pl. xvii. of M. Quatremère de Quincy's 'Jupiter Olympien,' p. 312.

‡ Eliac. pr. c. xi.

§ Colotes is said to have been a coadjutor of Phidias in making this statue. Plin. lib. xxxv. 8, 34.

‖ Φειδίας Χαρμίδου υἱὸς Ἀθηναῖός μ' ἐποίησε. Pausan. v. 10.

celebrated also in various epigrams in the Anthologia: and Plato, who was his contemporary, in his Dialogues, names Homer as a poet, and Phidias as a sculptor, in the same line.

Phidias appears to have returned to Athens in or about the fourth year of the 86th Olympiad, in the archonship of Pythodorus. His death took place in the first year of the 87th Olympiad, 432 years before Christ*; but whether from poison, or from natural causes, in prison or in exile, seems uncertain.

The scholars, pupils, or disciples of Phidias, were Alcamenes, Critias, Nestocles†, Agoracritus, and Hegias ‡. These artists, it is believed, were all employed under Phidias in the public works of Athens, but their separate labours cannot now be distinguished, nor have we any means of discriminating their different modes and degrees of excellence. Alcamenes, the favourite scholar of Phidias, probably had the largest share amongst them in adorning the buildings of the Parthenon §. Various hands

* C. O. Mueller, de Phidiæ Vita Comm.

† Junius, in his work de Pictura Veterum, doubts whether the names "Critias, Nestocles," should not be read *Critias Nesiotes*, the sculptor mentioned in Lucian.

‡ Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. xxxiv. c. 8.

§ The works of ALCAMENES, mentioned by Pausanias, beside the Venus of the gardens, are statues of Juno (Attic. ch. i.), Mars (ibid. ch. viii.), Procne and Itys (ibid. ch. xxiv.), a statue of Æsculapius at Mantinea (Arcad. ch. ix.), a Bacchus of ivory and gold (Attic. ch. xx.), colossal statues of Minerva and Hercules, of Pentelic marble, at Thebes (Bœot. ch. xi.), and his representation of the Lapithæ and Centaurs at the marriage of Pirithous among the sculptures of the temple at Elis (Eliac. pr. ch. x.). Cicero and Valerius Maximus mention a statue of Vulcan by Alcamenes.

A story of rivalry between Phidias and Alcamenes has been often told, apparently to give Phidias credit for great skill in optics. It is not, however, a tale of ancient origin. The first writer who mentions it is Tzetzes, a grammarian of Constantinople, who lived in the twelfth century. Nor is it borne out by

are distinguishable in different portions of the sculptures. Phidias, no doubt, overlooked the process, and perhaps touched and finished all the more important figures.

Phidias and his school, it has already been observed, brought sculpture to a standard of excellence; and they so fixed and determined the countenances, figures, and attributes of the various divinities, that neither painters nor sculptors in succeeding times, for more than two thousand two hundred years, have presumed, in any great degree, to deviate from them.

such works as are believed to have been executed under the eye of Phidias, who, instead of distorting the features of his statues placed at a great height, simply enlarged their proportions, and formed them in what the moderns call the heroic size. The standing figures in the pediments of the Parthenon were eight and nine feet high.

Pausanias, in his Bœotica, mentions bronze statues of Minerva Itonia and Jupiter, by AGORACRITUS, whom he calls the disciple and beloved of Phidias, *μαθητοῦ δὲ καὶ ἐρωμένου Φειδίου.*

Chapter VII.

THE PARTHENON.

The Parthenon, Temple of Minerva, or Hecatompedon, was built, as has been already stated, during the administration of Pericles. Pausanias tells us that Ictinus was the architect; but Plutarch says it was the work of Callicrates and Ictinus jointly. Strabo gives the whole merit to the latter*. The time when it was begun appears to have been in or soon after the year 448 before the Christian era. Wilkins, in his Atheniensia, reckons eleven years to have elapsed between its commencement and its completion. It was called Parthenon from ἡ Παρθένος, the virgin, whence ὁ Παρθενὼν, the virgin's habitation†; and Hecatompedon, either from its dimensions, or from the harmony of its proportions‡.

In whatever direction the traveller approaches Athens, the Parthenon is a striking object. It stands upon the highest platform of the Acropolis, and over-tops both the modern buildings and the ancient ruins by which it is surrounded.

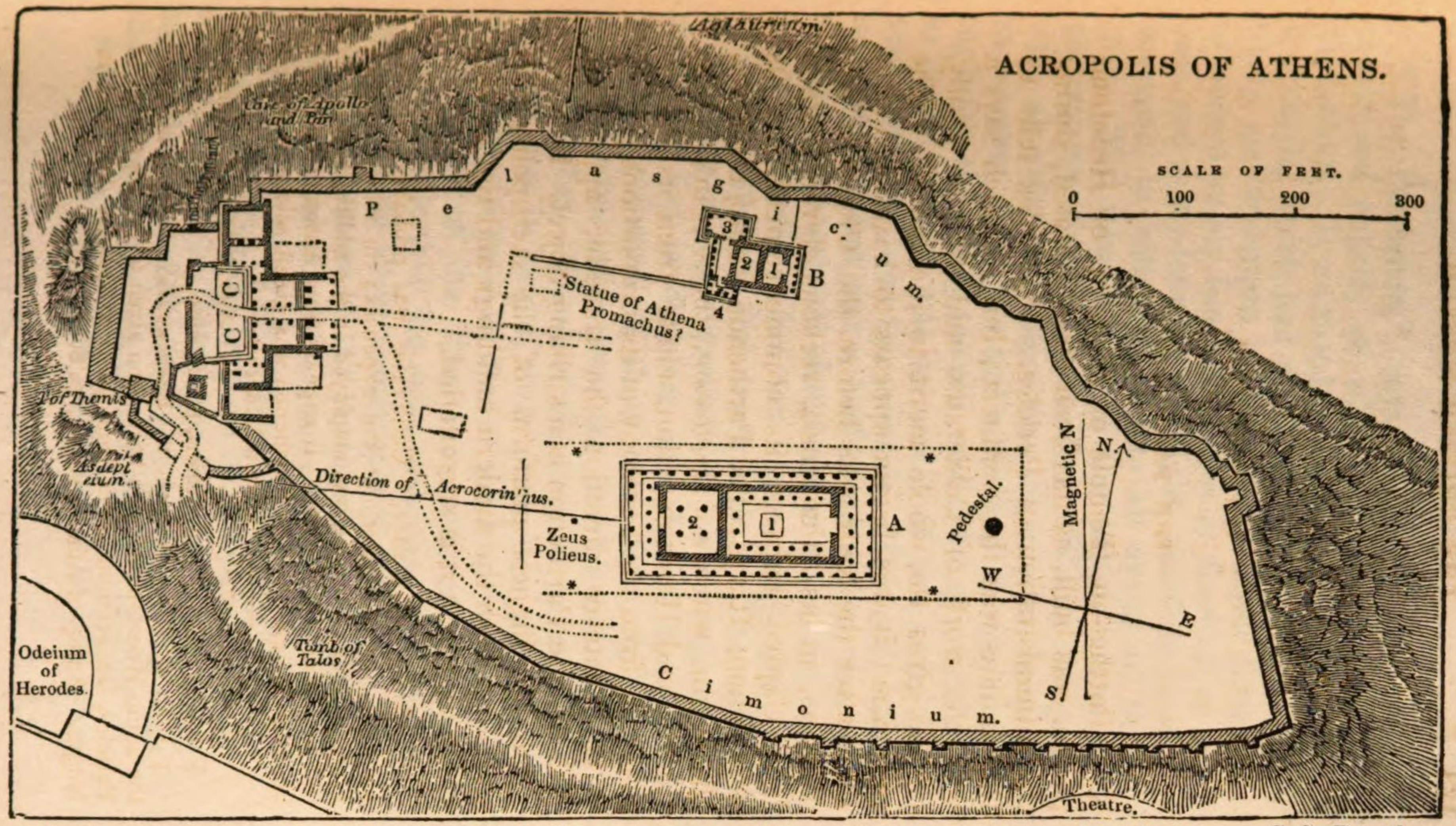
* Colonel Leake says, "Callicrates was probably only the ἐργολάβος, or contractor, for the expenses; in which capacity Plutarch tells us that he was employed in the additions made to the long walls by Pericles. It appears from Ausonius, that in a later age the credit of the Parthenon was given solely to Ictinus.

———'in arce Minervæ
Ictinus.'" Auson. Mosel. v. 308.

† Leake's Topogr. of Athens, p. 36, note.

‡ Ibid. p. 283. Hesych. in Ἑκατόμπιδος. Stuart supposes the name Hecatompedon to have been given to the Parthenon of Pericles, on account of its front being a hundred Attic feet in length. Antiq. of Athens, vol. ii. p. 8.

ACROPOLIS OF ATHENS.



A. Parthenon.
1. Statue of Minerva.
2. Opisthodomos.
B. Erectheium.
1. Temple of Athena Polias.
2. Cecropium.
3. North Portico of Pandrosium.
4. South do. do.
C C. Propylæa.

"The Parthenon," says Colonel Leake, "was constructed entirely of white marble from Mount Pentelicum. It consisted of a cell, surrounded with a peristyle, which had eight Doric columns in the fronts, and seventeen in the sides. These forty-six columns were six feet two inches in diameter at the base, and thirty-four feet in height, standing upon a pavement, to which there was an ascent of three steps. The total height of the temple above its platform was about sixty-five feet. Within the peristyle, at either end, there was an interior range of six columns, of five feet and a half in diameter, standing before the end of the cell, and forming a vestibule to its door: there was an ascent of two steps into these vestibules from the peristyle. The cell, which was sixty-two feet and a half broad within, was divided into two unequal chambers, of which the western was forty-three feet ten inches long, and the eastern ninety-eight feet seven inches. The ceiling of the former was supported by four columns, of about four feet in diameter, and that of the latter by sixteen columns, of about three feet. It is not known of what order were the interior columns of either chamber. Those of the western having been thirty-six feet in height, their proportion must have been nearly the same as that of the Ionic columns of the vestibule of the Propylæa; whence it seems highly probable that the same order was used in the interior of both those contemporary buildings. In the eastern chamber of the Parthenon, the smallness of the diameter of the columns leaves little doubt that there was an upper range, as in the temples of Pæstum and Ægina. It is to be lamented that no remains of any of them have been found, as they might have presented some new proofs of the taste and invention of the architects of the time of Pericles.

"Such was the simple construction of this mag-

nificent building, which, by its united excellences of materials, design, and decorations, was the most perfect ever executed. Its dimensions of two hundred and twenty-eight feet by a hundred and two, with a height of sixty-six feet to the top of the pediment, were sufficiently great to give an impression of grandeur and sublimity, which was not disturbed by any obtrusive subdivision of parts, such as is found to diminish the effects of some larger modern buildings, where the same singleness of design is not observed. In the Parthenon, whether viewed at a small or at a great distance, there was nothing to divert the spectator's contemplation from the simplicity and majesty of mass and outline, which forms the first and most remarkable object of admiration in a Greek temple; and it was not until the eye was satiated with the contemplation of the entire edifice, that the spectator was tempted to examine the decorations with which this building was so profusely adorned; for the statues of the pediments, the only decoration which was very conspicuous by its magnitude and position, being enclosed within frames, which formed an essential part of the design of either front, had no more obtrusive effect than an ornamented capital to a single column *."

Sir George Wheler and Dr. Spon visited and described the Parthenon in 1676, when the building was entire except the roof; previous to which, in 1674, the Marquis de Nointel had ordered drawings to be made from the sculptures with which it was adorned. These have fortunately been preserved; for, without their assistance, neither an adequate idea could have been formed of the compositions which filled the pediments of the temple, nor could many of the statues in those compositions, which had been

* Leake, p. 209—212.

ruined by violence, or fallen down at a later time, have been identified. The originals of these drawings, by Jaques Carrey, are still preserved in the Royal Library at Paris. Copies in fac-simile exist in the British Museum. More will be said of these drawings hereafter.

Pausanias's observations on the Parthenon are limited to a general mention of the subjects in the tympana or pediments, and a notice of the colossal statue of Minerva. In the temple called Parthenon, he says, in the Aeti*, the statues in front relate to the birth of Minerva; the hinder part represents the contest of Neptune and Minerva for Attica. The statue of the goddess is made of ivory and gold; on the summit of the helmet is a sphinx, and on each side of it are griffons. The figure is erect, with a robe reaching to the feet; on the breast is the head of Medusa, formed in ivory; in one hand† a figure of Victory, four cubits in height; in the other hand a spear. A shield is at her feet, and near the spear a serpent, supposed to represent Erichthonius. The birth of Pandora is represented in relief upon the pedestal‡.

The reader will easily perceive that Pausanias having mentioned neither east nor west, the traveller who visited the Parthenon would be likely to consider that portico as the front of the temple which was turned to the Propylæa, and which, in point of fact, faced the only approach to the Acropolis. Wheler, in consequence, calls the western the *principal* FRONT: others fell into the same error; and all appear to have concluded that the Birth of Minerva,

* The pediments.

† The "one hand" is not in Pausanias's text; but the coins of Athens, which represent this figure of Minerva, explain the passage.

‡ Pausan. Attica, c. xxiv.

the subject first mentioned by Pausanias, formed the story of the western pediment; and they forced Pausanias's description to accommodate itself to the sculptures in that pediment which were still remaining.

Stuart, more exact than his predecessors, was the first who made the discovery, which subsequent writers have agreed in, that the ENTRANCE, and consequently the front of the Parthenon, was towards the east; an aspect which is exemplified in all the principal existing temples in Greece. He did not, however, draw the inference from it that the sculptures of the western tympanum must have represented the contest with Neptune, and not the birth of Minerva. This was left for M. Quatremère de Quincy; who, finding that the inference which he had drawn was fully confirmed by the examination of Carrey's drawings, communicated his discovery in a Memoir to the French Academy.

The SCULPTURES of the Parthenon are of three descriptions:—1. The metopes. 2. The frieze of the cella. 3. The statues of the tympana, or pediments.

In the frieze of the peristyle were the SCULPTURED METOPES*, ninety-two in all; fourteen on each front, and thirty-two on each flank of the temple. The great height of the relief of these works, some parts of which were entirely detached from the tablets, rendered them peculiarly liable to injury, not only from violence, but from the effects of the weather. The southern side, however, escaped better than the

* Metope is the interval between two triglyphs in a Doric frieze. Vitruvius, in his chapter on the Ornaments of Columns, says, "the intervals between dentils as well as those between triglyphs, are called Metopæ. Besides, the Greeks, by the word ὄπαι, signify the beds of the beams, which we call cava columbaria; thus the space between two beams obtained the name of a metopa."

others; and fifteen of the metopes of this side are in the Elgin collection. One which was obtained by the Count de Choiseul Gouffier, and afterwards forwarded to him by Lord Elgin, is in the gallery of the Louvre at Paris. A cast of this last metope was procured for the British Museum in 1828. It is placed in the Elgin room, as metope No. 9.

The metopes of the eastern front of the Parthenon are considered by Colonel Leake to relate to the actions of Minerva herself, and of the principal Athenian heroes, treated nearly in the same manner in which we find them delineated upon the ancient Athenian pottery.

From the circumstance of a female figure occurring in most of the metopes on the north side, of which we have any remains, it is conjectured that this side related chiefly to the wars of the Amazons.

On the western front the subjects of the metopes throughout were, alternately, a horseman with a prostrate pedestrian, and two combatants on foot; the odd numbers (beginning from the south) containing the latter, and the even numbers the horsemen. This front appears to have related entirely to the warlike exploits of the Athenians. Persians are discoverable amongst their adversaries *.

On the south side, all the metopes, except nine, towards the centre, as we learn from Carrey's drawings, had reference to the memorable contest between the Centaurs and the Lapithæ.

Under each metope of the eastern front, Stuart found certain triangular holes, which were then filled up with marble; similar excavations, Colonel Leake observes, are seen also on the western front, but over each column only. Stuart thought these might have been prepared for the insertion of cramps to support festoons; but Mr. Wilkins and Colonel Leake agree

* Compare Col. Leake's Topogr. of Athens, p. 228, &c.

that they were to hold cramps for the support of shields of gilt metal, in conformity with the practice which Pausanias observed in the temple of Jupiter at Olympia, whose front was thus ornamented. Pausanias tells us, in his Attica, chap. xxv., that the tyrant Lachares, when he fled from Athens before Demetrius Poliorcetes, carried away with him, together with whatever ornaments of the statue of Minerva could be removed, the golden shields from the Acropolis. Colonel Leake says, it is highly probable this may have been the situation of those golden shields; that the holes in the architrave were made for the reception of the fastenings of the shields, and that they were filled up after the robbery of Lachares *. On the eastern front there were inscriptions between the shields; the holes by which the letters of metal were attached being still apparent in the marble.

In an uninterrupted series of very low relief, erected round the cella, immediately below the ceiling of the porticos of the Parthenon, was the FRIEZE, representing the solemn quinquennial procession to the temple of the Panathenæa. The procession was represented as advancing in two parallel columns from west to east; one along the northern, the other along the southern side of the temple, facing inwards after turning the two angles of the eastern front, and meeting towards its centre.

The allegories in the PEDIMENTS will be treated of in detail hereafter. Whatever differences of opinion may exist as to the personages represented by the several statues, the general subjects of the compositions are now agreed upon; that the eastern pediment represented the birth of Minerva, and the western the contest for the land of Attica.

The roof of the Parthenon, says Wilkins, was un-

* About a hundred and thirty years after the death of Pericles.

questionably of timber. It was covered with marble cut so as to represent large tiles, after the mode observed in the temple of Jupiter at Olympia, as described by Pausanias *. Some of these are yet to be seen amongst the ruins †. Stuart discovered some of the *harmi* or joint tiles, which extended from the ridge to the eaves, covered the junction of the contiguous rows, and preserved the timbers of the roof by preventing the admission of rain between them ‡.

The inside of the temple was divided by a cross wall; the smaller division, towards the west, improperly called by Wheler and Spon the Pronaos, was the Opisthodomus, where the public treasure was kept. The four columns which it contained, mentioned by Spon and Wheler, are gone. In the greater division facing the east, stood the chryselephantine statue of Minerva §.

The Christians, when they had gained a victory over the antient superstition, converted the Parthenon into a Christian church, and covered it with a roof and cupolas in their usual manner. In this state it remained until the siege of Athens, in 1687, when the explosion of a shell, fired from the opposite hill of the Museum, destroyed nearly half the fabric. The walls of the cella before the opisthodomus were almost wholly levelled, together with five of the

* Pausan. Eliac. prior. c. x., who ascribes the invention of them to a Naxian, the son of Byzas, who lived in the time of Astyages.

† A specimen of such a tile, from the Parthenon or some other temple, is preserved in the Elgin collection, No. 297.

‡ Atheniensia, p. 109.

§ Compare Stuart, Antiq. of Athens, vol. ii. p. 4. Pliny, lib. xxxv. c. 10, says, that the propylæum of the temple of Minerva, probably the pronaos, was painted by Protogenes, who had represented the triremes Paralus and Hermionis. Within the temple were portraits of Themistocles and Heliodorus.

columns of the peristyle on the north side; six on the south side also were thrown down. The shell appears to have exploded near the middle of the cella, spreading destruction in a circle around it, and forcing huge masses to a considerable distance beyond the circuit of the building. The eastern portico seems to have been just without the range of its destructive influence; but the pediment and the sculptures it contained suffered from the shock, and were almost wholly destroyed *.

The chryselephantine statue of Minerva, which adorned the interior of the Parthenon, and was in fact its most splendid ornament, has been already described from Pausanias. Plato says, the eyes of this statue were of precious stones, approaching the colour of ivory †, probably of chalcedony or agate. M. Quatremère de Quincy, in a work of considerable splendour and extent, which has been already quoted, entitled 'Le Jupiter Olympien, ou L'Art de la Sculpture antique considéré sous un nouveau point de vue,' fol. Par. 1815, p. 226, has given a presumed representation of this statue restored, according to the antient authorities ‡. In page 229, and in several others which follow, he has explained the manner in which the interior wooden figure, for such he considers it to have been §, was incrusted with the

* Wilkins, Atheniensia, p. 114.

† Plat. Hipp. maj. p. 99.

‡ See also his Monuments et Ouvrages d'Art antiques restitués, 4to. Par. 1829, tom. i. p. 123, pl. i. ii. iii. It has been re-engraved in the Library of Entertaining Knowledge, Menageries, vol. ii. p. 329.

§ Pausanias mentions some statues of this period, in which the ivory was laid upon stone. See also M. Quatremère de Quincy's Jupiter Olympien. Aristotle, in his Book de Mundo, says, that Phidias's two most celebrated statues, his Minerva at Athens, and his Jupiter at Olympia, were made of stone, covered with plates of ivory. See Flaxm. Lect. p. 225.

ivory. The robe or vestment of Minerva he considers to have been entirely of gold *, as well as the helmet, the ægis, and the drapery and wings of the smaller figure of Victory in the left hand. He is in part corroborated in this notion by the words of Plutarch, in his Life of Pericles. This statue, according to the best authorities, was placed in the temple in the second year of the 85th Olympiad, B. C. 439. Thucydides made the gold upon this statue amount to forty talents; Philochorus, who lived in the 130th Olympiad, to forty-four talents; Ephorus, copied by Diodorus Siculus, says fifty talents.

The statue of the goddess measured twenty-six cubits, or thirty-nine feet seven inches in height. The figure of Victory was six feet high †. According to Pliny, beside the accompaniments mentioned by Pausanias, there was a sphinx of brass beneath Minerva's spear; upon the convex side of the shield, which was placed upon the ground, was a representation of the battle of the Greeks and Amazons ‡, and on its concave side the contest of the gods and giants. On the sandals was embossed the favourite subject of the battle of the Centaurs and Lapithæ. In the

* See also the 'Restitution de la Minerve du Parthenon,' in M. Quatremère de Quincy's Monuments et Ouvrages d'Art antiques restitués. 4to. Par. 1829, tom. i. p. 81.

† Plate xxv. of the Dilettanti volume, represents a statue of Minerva belonging to Thomas Hope, Esq., believed to be one of the numerous copies of that which Phidias wrought in ivory and gold for the Temple of the Parthenon. It was found in 1797 at Ostia, about thirty feet below the surface, lying prostrate at the foot of its own niche, among the ruins of a magnificent building on the mouth of the Tiber. Another, exactly similar, but less entire, stood in the gallery of the Villa Albani, which had been so much celebrated and admired by writers on ancient art, and was so highly esteemed by the directors of the National Gallery at Paris, that they reserved it when the government restored the rest of the Albani collection to the prince.

‡ See also Pausan. Attic. c. xvii.

battle of the Amazons, Phidias gave offence to the Athenians by introducing the figure of Pericles, the face partly concealed; a hand with a spear extended before it, seeming designed to prevent the likeness from being perceived. His own figure Phidias represented old and bald, with a ponderous stone uplifted in his hands. The pedestal of this statue was from eight to twelve feet high.

The manner in which M. Quatremère de Quincy states the gold to have been disposed upon the statue of Minerva, is confirmed by the anecdote of Menon, one of the scholars of Phidias, who was encouraged by the enemies of Pericles, the employer of Phidias, to accuse the artist of having appropriated to himself a part of the gold which had been given to be employed upon it. Fortunately, the gold ornaments had been so contrived as to be easily removed without injury to the figure*. At the demand of Phidias they were taken off and weighed, and found to correspond in quantity with the gold delivered.

The gold of the statue of Minerva has been already mentioned as having been carried off by Lachares. This was about the year 296 B. C.; yet Pausanias, who travelled in Greece in the reign of Marcus Aurelius, about 170 years after the Christian era, describes the statue as still made of ivory and gold in his time. It is probable that the gold was chiefly, though not entirely confined to the moveable habiliments of the figure.

The spectator may form some notion of the grandeur of the columns by which the building of the Parthenon was supported, by the specimen of a capital and portion of a shaft which now support the figure of Bacchus in the Elgin room, No. 112.

* The origin of the story may probably be traced to the passage in Thucydides, ii. 13.

Chapter VIII.

SCULPTURED METOPES OF THE PARTHENON.

The Metopes in the Elgin room have been already described, as exclusively confined in their subject to the contest of the Centaurs and the Lapithæ: an explanation of this story is given by Mr. Combe in the fourth part of the large work upon the Museum Marbles. This subject, on account of Theseus, who had joined in overcoming the Centaurs, was one of national interest with the Athenians.

The story of the Centaurs, it is remarked, is of Thessalian origin*. The people of Thessaly were remarkably expert in horsemanship†, and were supposed to be the first in Greece who practised the art of riding on horseback‡. Pelion, and other mountains in this part of Greece, abounding in wild bulls, these ferocious animals were frequently hunted by the people of the country on horseback, and when overtaken were seized by their pursuers, who caught hold of them by the horns, in a manner not less dexterous than daring§. Hence, these hunters acquired the name of Centauri and Hippocentauri, from the Greek words ἵππος *a horse*, κεντέω *to goad* or *lance*, and

* Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. iii. p. 477.

† Virgil, Georg. lib. iii. ver. 115. Justin says, that Philip II. of Macedon wished to make himself master of Thessaly for no other reason than that he might add the Thessalian horsemen to his army. Justin. lib. vii. c. 6.

‡ Lucan, lib. vi. ver. 396.

§ See Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. viii. c. 70. Euripides, in Electra, v. 815, speaks of the skill which the Thessalians displayed, both in the slaughter of bulls and in the management of horses.

ταῦρος *a bull.* The novel sight of a man seated on the back of a horse, and galloping over the plains with more than human velocity, might easily suggest to the minds of an ignorant peasantry, the idea of an animal composed partly of a man and partly of a horse; and it was from this simple origin, according to some explanations, that the fable of the Centaurs sprung. We must remark, that we place no confidence in the proposed etymology of the word Centauros, and almost as little in the explanation of the story. The Centaur Chiron in Homer was a model of justice, and the poet appears to have had no idea of the monstrous combination of two animals. Pindar, in his second Pythian Ode, first makes us acquainted with the Hippo-Centaur, or half horse and half man. Though it cannot be imagined that the Greeks ever regarded this tradition otherwise than as a fable, so far as the double nature of the animal was concerned *, yet it is curious to observe with what care and devotion they recorded the particulars of this fiction in their poems, sculpture, paintings, and other monuments of art.

The Centaurs were invited to the nuptials of Pirithous, king of the Lapithæ. During the marriage feast, one of the Centaurs, named Eurytion, or Eurytus, with the characteristic brutality of his nature, and elated by the effects of wine, offered violence to the person of Hippodamia, the bride †. This outrageous act was immediately resented by Theseus, the friend of Pirithous, who hurled a large vessel of

* "Ne forte ex homine et veterino semine equorum
Confieri credas Centauros posse."
Lucret. lib. v. 88.

"Quis enim Hippocentaurum fuisse, aut Chimæram putet?"
Cic. de Natura Deorum, lib. ii. c. 2.

† Diod. Sicul. lib. v. c. 70. Ovid. Met. lib. xii. v. 218.

wine at the head of the offender, which brought him lifeless to the ground*.

A general engagement then ensued between the two parties; and the Centaurs not only sought to revenge the death of their companion, Eurytus, but likewise attempted to carry off the females who were guests at the nuptials. In this conflict, sustained on both sides with great fury, the Centaurs were finally vanquished, and driven out of Thessaly; after which they took up their abode in Arcadia, where they provoked the anger of Hercules, who completely destroyed the whole of their race. Such is the general outline of the mythic history of the Centaurs.

The names of a great number of the combatants are preserved by Hesiod, Ovid, and other authors†. Many antient writers have introduced into their works a description of the contest which was fought between them; and we are told that it formed the entire subject of a poem, now lost, by Melisander, a native of Miletus‡. Nothing, however, more strongly proves the interest felt by the antients in the delineation of this combat, than the very frequent introduction of it into their architectural and other works of art. Beside the metopes of the Parthenon, it is represented on the frieze of the porticoes in the temple of Theseus at Athens§; and was one of the subjects which enriched the fronton of the temple of Jupiter at Olympia‖. This combat was also painted on the walls of the temple of Theseus¶, and was introduced as an ornament on the sandals of Minerva**, in the statue

* Ovid. ut supr. v. 235.

† Hesiod. Scut. Herc. v. 184, seq. Ovid. Met. lib. xii. v. 220, seq.

‡ See Ælian, Var. Hist. lib. xi. c. 2.

§ See Stuart, vol. iii. c. 1, pl. xxi.-xxiv.; and the engravings of the frieze in another part of the present volume.

‖ Pausan. Eliac. lib. prior. c. x.

¶ Pausan. Attic. c. xvii.

** "In soleis vero Lapitharum et Centaurorum dimicationem," Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. xxxvi. c. 4.

which stood in the Parthenon. We are told by Hesiod, that the same subject was engraved on the shield of Hercules*; and Valerius Flaccus describes it as having been painted on one of the Argonautic ships†. The combat of the Centaurs and Lapithæ occurs on a medallion of Antoninus Pius‡, and on a medal struck at Mopsium in Thessaly§; it is also represented on a Greek vase‖; and is introduced as an embellishment to the cap of Ulysses, on a beautiful cameo in the Royal Library at Paris¶. Statius too has given a description of a gold cup, around which the subject was engraved in a most spirited style of workmanship**.

Ten tablets of the frieze, in the temple of Apollo Epicurius, at Phigaleia, as will hereafter be seen, were also ornamented with this popular representation.

Visconti observes, that the artist who invented the reliefs of the Metopes of the Parthenon, intended to represent in these battles, not the Lapithæ of the Thessalian fable, but the Athenians, of whom Theseus was the chief. The heroes who combat with the Centaurs are occasionally represented with the same chlamydes, the same shields, and in two instances with the same short boots††, the *embatæ*, which accompany

* Scut. Herc. v. 178. † Valer. Flacc. lib. i. v. 140.

‡ Vaillant, Selectiora Numismata in ære maximi moduli in Museo Francisci de Camps, p. 25, fig. 1. This medallion is now in the Royal Collection at Paris.

§ Pellerin, Recueil de Médailles de Peuples et de Villes, pl. xxviii. fig. 33.

‖ See Sir William Hamilton's Collection of Etruscan, Greek, and Roman Antiquities, vol. iii. pl. 81.

¶ Millin, Monumens Antiques, inedits ou nouvellement expliquès, tom. i. pl. 22.

** "Centauros habet arte truces, aurumque figuris
Terribile, hic mixtâ Lapitharum cæde rotantur
Saxa, faces, aliique iterum crateres, ubique
Ingentes morientum iræ." Stat. Theb. lib. vi. ver. 535.

†† See the Metopes, No. 2 and No. 8.

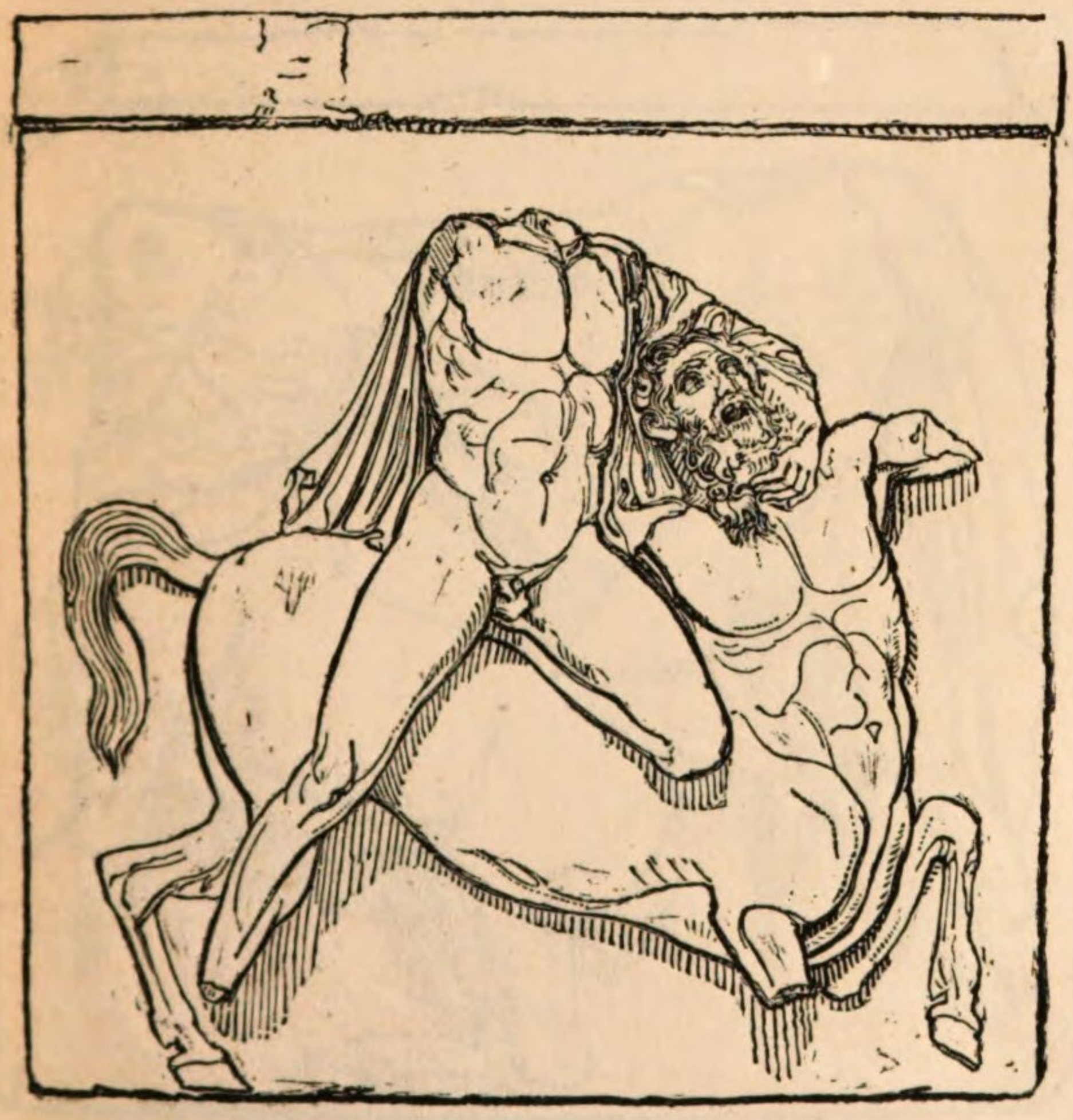
the figures of the Athenian horsemen on the bas-reliefs of the frieze of the Parthenon.

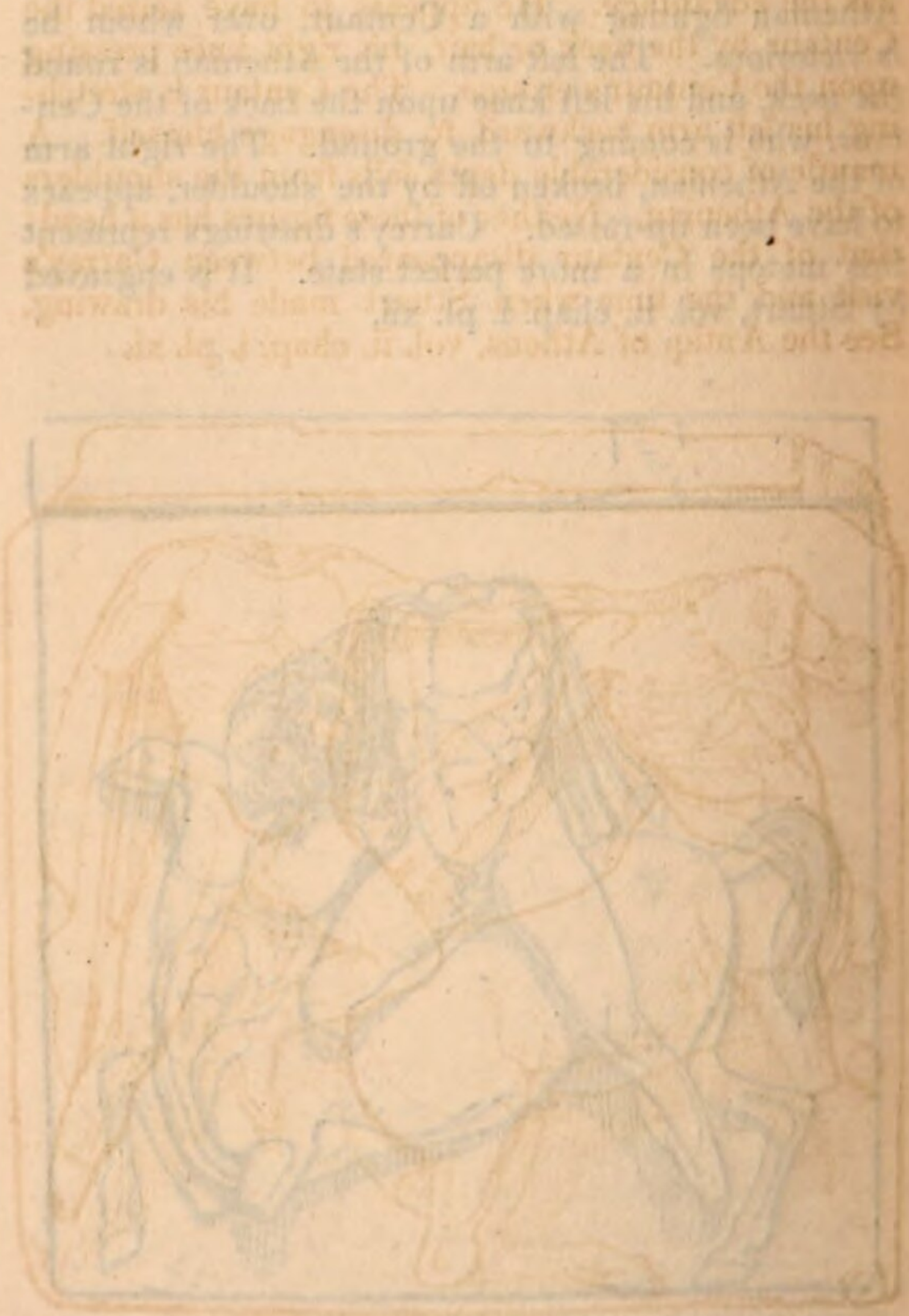
It may not be improper to say something here of the elements of these metopes as they regard art. Mr. Westmacott observed, in his recent lectures at the Royal Academy, that from their inequalities, both in composition and treatment, we might reasonably be permitted to doubt whether they were the designs of the same master; that they were not the productions of the same hand, he thought sufficiently obvious. In some will be found the highest qualities of the period to which they belong; in several may be traced the hard and severe style of the earlier schools; whilst others neither conform in character, disposition, nor style with either. Nor need we be surprised at this inequality. Phidias was an example of extraordinary genius of his own time; and, although he retained the principles established at Ægina and of preceding ages, he must be considered the founder rather than the follower of a school. He was compelled, in addition to his immediate disciples, to call in the assistance of many with whom early habits or local difficulties and associations interposed, to prevent their immediate adoption of his enlarged principles.

In the accounts which follow of the Metopes separately, it has been thought proper to add to the numbers by which they are at present distinguished, those which were upon them in the former Elgin room in the Museum; and by which they are referred to in different works published both in England and upon the Continent. The numbers by which they are distinguished in the Chevalier Bröndsted's 'Voyages et Recherches en Grèce,' which differ from both the preceding, are also given.

METOPE 1.

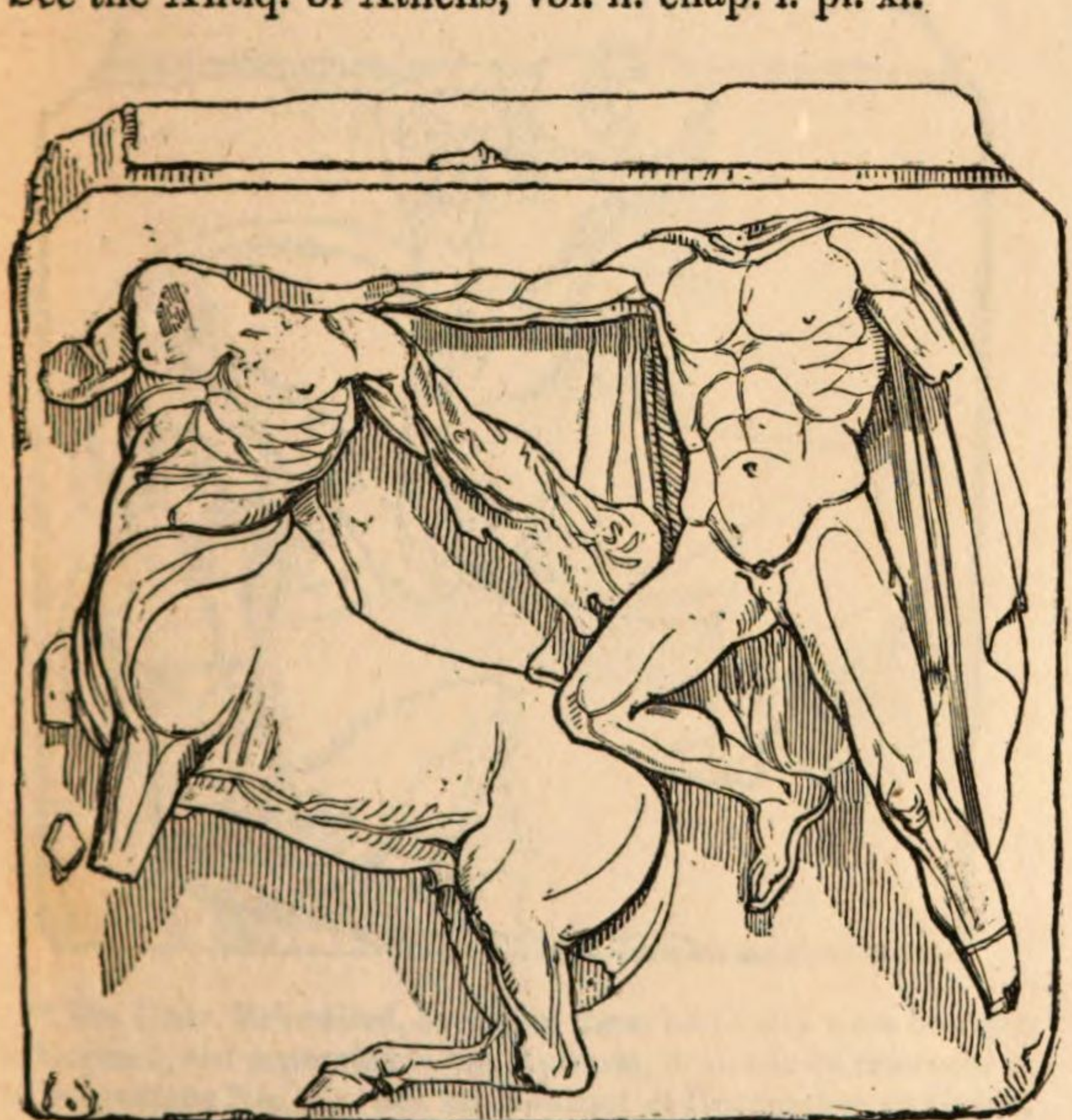
This metope was marked 11 in the old arrangement of the Elgin Marbles, and is No. 2 in the plates of the Chevalier Bröndsted. It represents an Athenian fighting with a Centaur, over whom he is victorious. The left arm of the Athenian is round the neck, and his left knee upon the back of the Centaur, who is coming to the ground. The right arm of the Athenian, broken off by the shoulder, appears to have been up-raised. Carrey's drawings represent this metope in a more perfect state. It is engraved by Stuart, vol. ii. chap. i. pl. xii.





METOPE 2.

No. 2 of the old arrangement, No. 3 in Bröndsted. It represents another combat, in which the Athenian has the advantage. He appears to have seized the Centaur by the neck or hair, his right knee pressing upon the Centaur's croupe. The Centaur is stretching his left arm backward to disengage himself. A mantle of considerable depth falls from the shoulders of the Athenian. Neither of these figures has a head: that of the Centaur disappeared between Carrey's visit and the time when Stuart made his drawing. See the Antiq. of Athens, vol. ii. chap. i. pl. xi.



o 3

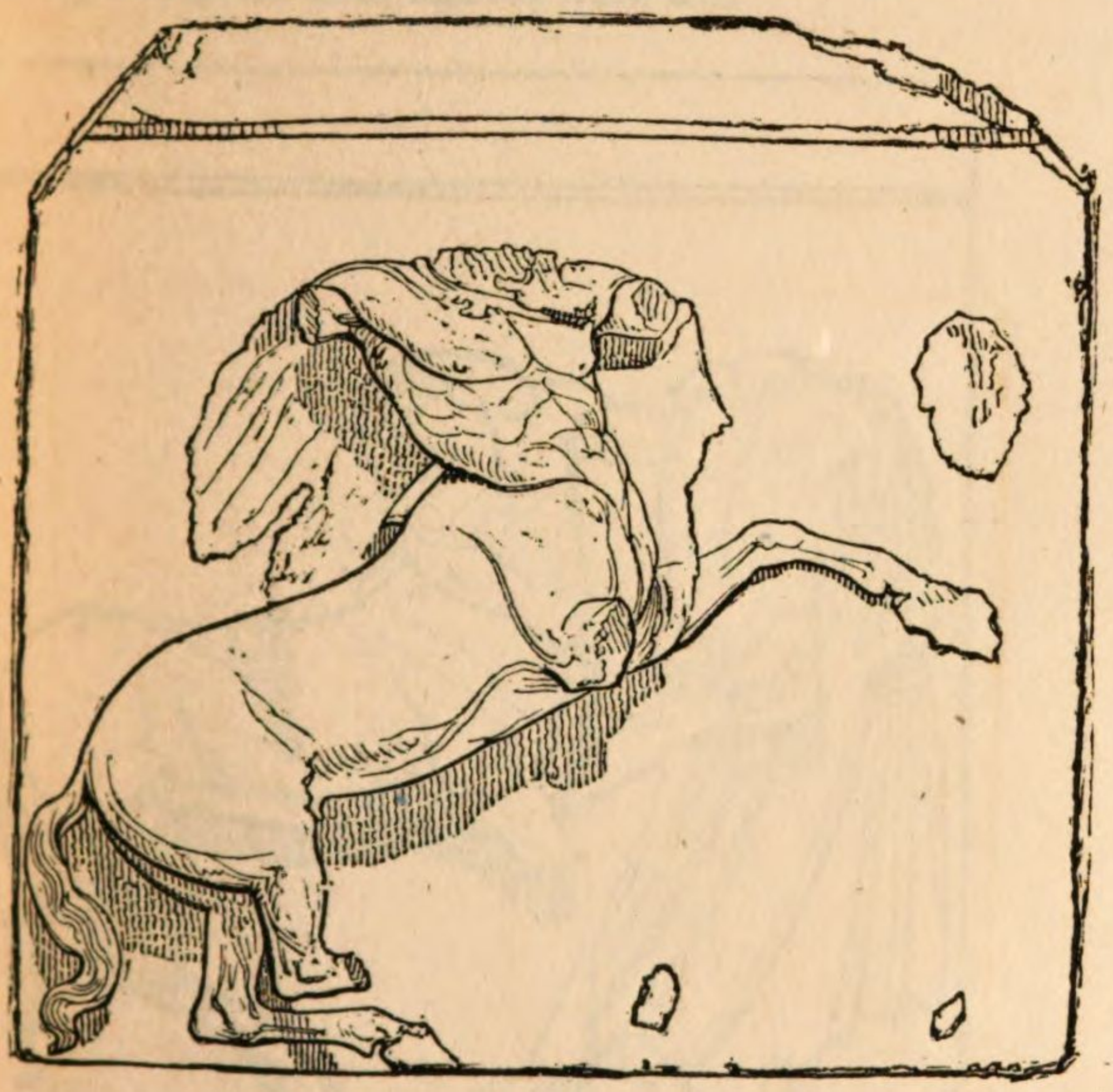
METOPE 3.

No. 8 of the old arrangement, No. 4 of the Chevalier Bröndsted. A Centaur victorious over an Athenian, who, whilst falling, endeavours to protect himself by his shield. The Centaur has a wine-vessel uplifted in his hands, in the act of crushing his enemy. The heads of the two figures from the Parthenon, preserved in the Royal Museum at Copenhagen, are believed to have belonged to this metope*. Casts from them have been added to the figures. Compare Stuart, vol. ii. chap. i. pl. xi.

*The Chev. Bröndsted, by whom these two casts were brought to England, and presented to the Museum, erroneously refers them to the metope No. 7. See his Voyages et Recherches en Grèce, tom. ii. p. 201.

METOPE 4.

No. 12 of the old arrangement, No. 5 of Brönd-sted. This metope, when perfect, exhibited a Centaur combating with an Athenian, as may be seen in Carrey's drawings. The figure of the latter is now effaced. Stuart has engraved this metope, vol. iv. chap. iv. pl. xxxii.



The Centaur, according to Carrey's drawing, held the Athenian with his left hand by the hair of the head.

METOPE 5.

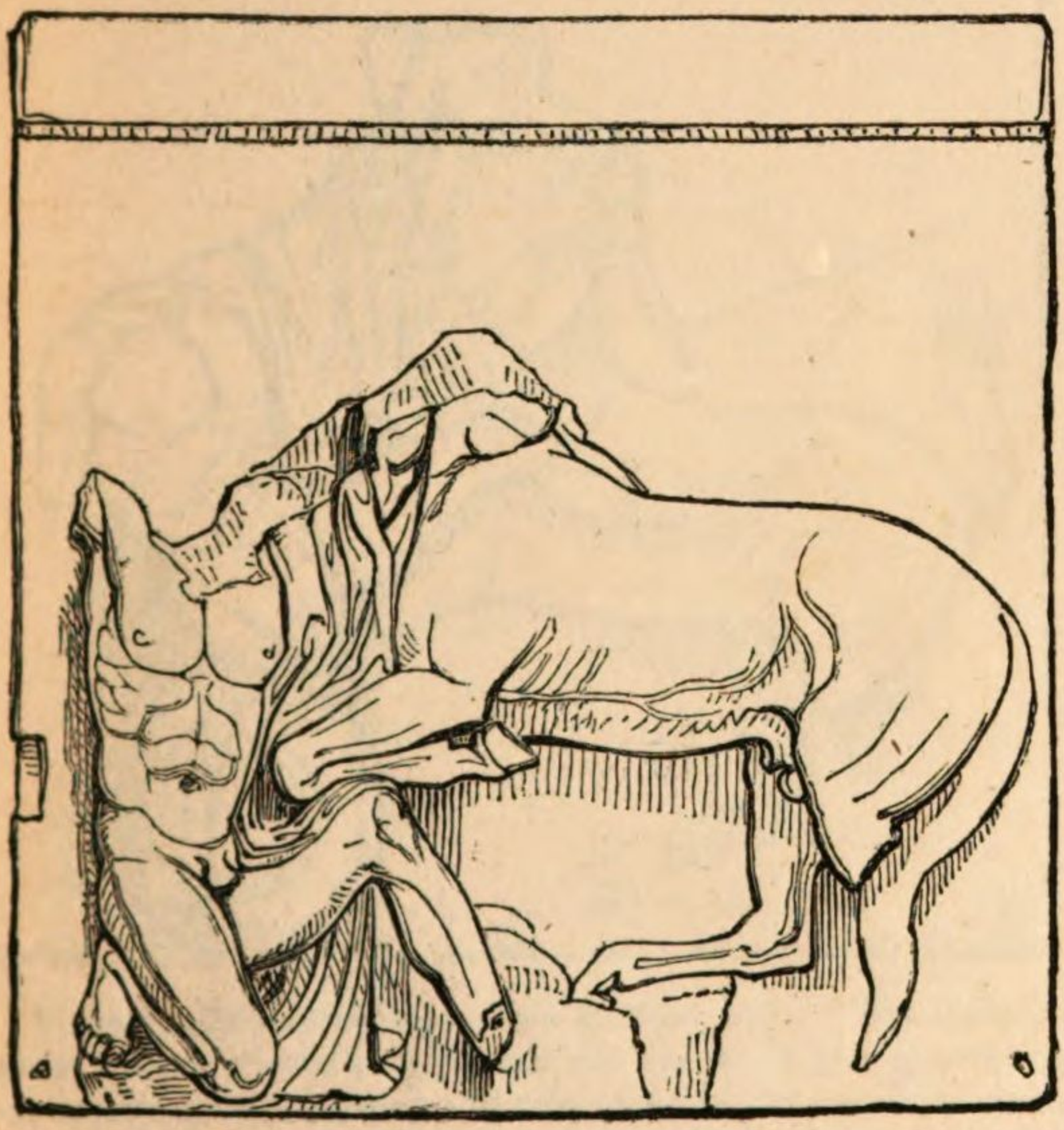
No. 15 of the old arrangement, No. 6 of Bröndsted. A Centaur and an Athenian engaged in fight: the victory undecided. In Carrey's time the figure of the Athenian was perfect: the upper half only is now remaining: a drapery of considerable depth is suspended from the left shoulder. See Stuart, vol. iv. chap. iv. pl. xxx., in whose time portions of the right arms of both figures were left.

METOPE 6.

No. 6 of the old arrangement, No. 7 of Bröndsted. An Athenian seizing a Centaur by the breast with his left hand, and overthrowing him, whilst the right hand is prepared to give him a blow. This metope is of superior execution. Both the figures have draperies. The heads of both have disappeared since Carrey's time. It is engraved in Stuart, vol. iv. chap. iv., upper compartment of pl. xxxiv.

METOPE 7.

No. 4 of the old arrangement, No. 8 of Bröndsted. Carrey has preserved the perfect subject of the composition. It represented a Centaur, who having thrown his adversary to the ground, was in the act of hurling at him some heavy missile. The hand and part of the neck of the Centaur are now gone, as well as the head and one foot of the Athenian. Stuart, vol. iv. chap. iv. pl. xxxi.



METOPE 8.

No. 5 of the old arrangement, No. 9 of Bröndsted. A Centaur combating an Athenian, whom he has thrown upon a wine-jar overturned*. Both arms of the Centaur and one arm and one leg of the Athenian are lost. The left arm of the Athenian is covered with a drapery, which is pendant behind the figure. See Stuart, vol. iv. chap. iv. pl. xxxi.

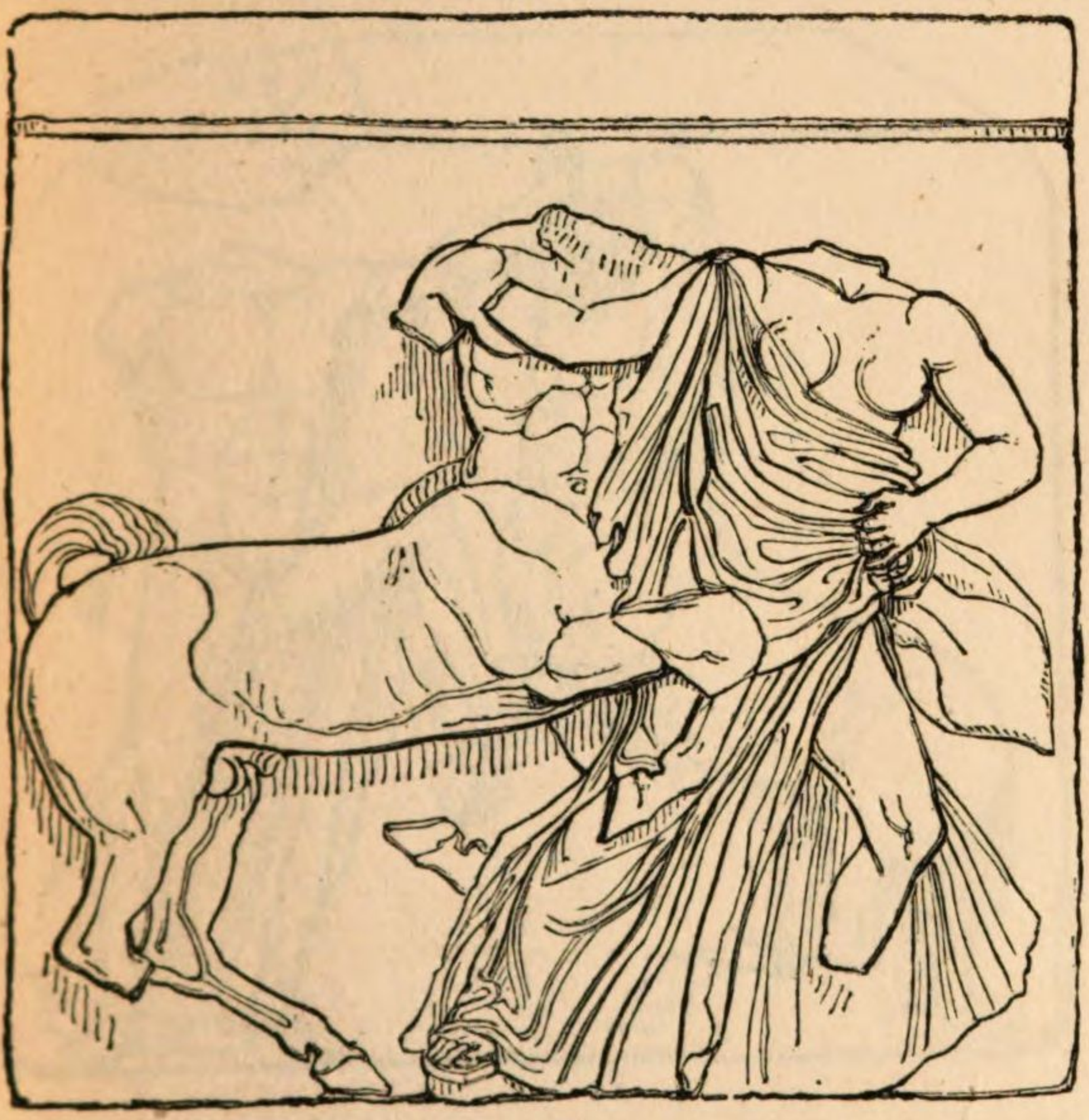
* Visconti, commenting upon this metope, says, "The inventor appears to have wished to point out the cause of the quarrel by some appendage to the group: it originated in the convivial meeting of a wedding; and an inverted bowl, which is seen on one" (he should have said two, see the metope, No. 3, in a former page) "of the bas-reliefs, gives us to understand that the vessels and utensils, which served for the purposes of the feast, had been made to furnish arms to drunkenness and brutality:—

"Res epulis quondam, nunc bello et cædibus apta."

Ovid, Metamorph. lib. xii. v. 244.

METOPE 9.

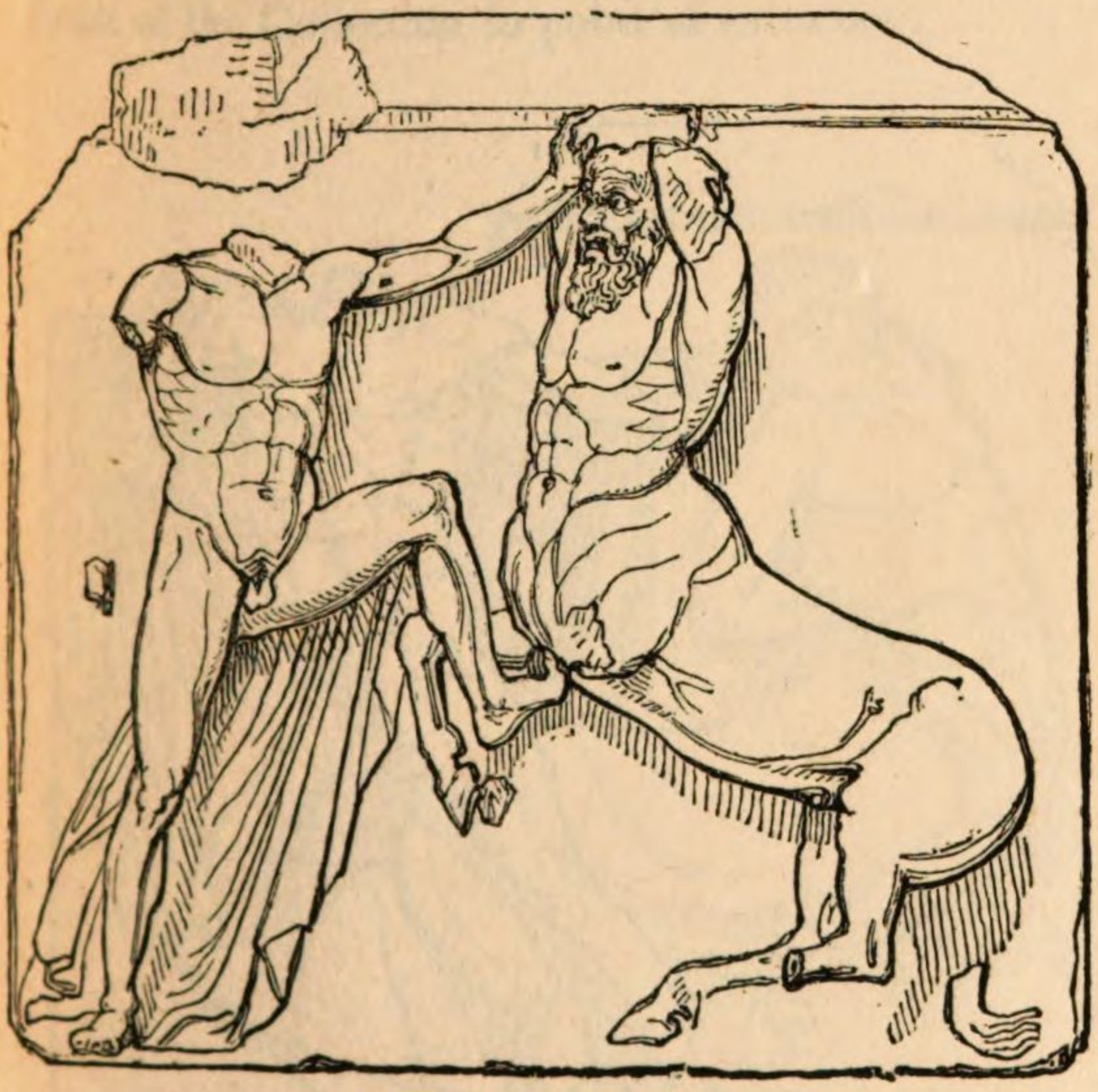
No. *10* of Bröndsted. This is a Cast only, from the metope now in the gallery of the Louvre, which formerly belonged to the Count de Choiseul Gouffier, at the sale of whose museum, in 1818, it was purchased by the French government for the sum of twenty-five thousand francs. It represents a Centaur seizing a female to carry her off.



The original, at Paris, has been restored by the French artists. The Cast here copied consists of the antient work only.

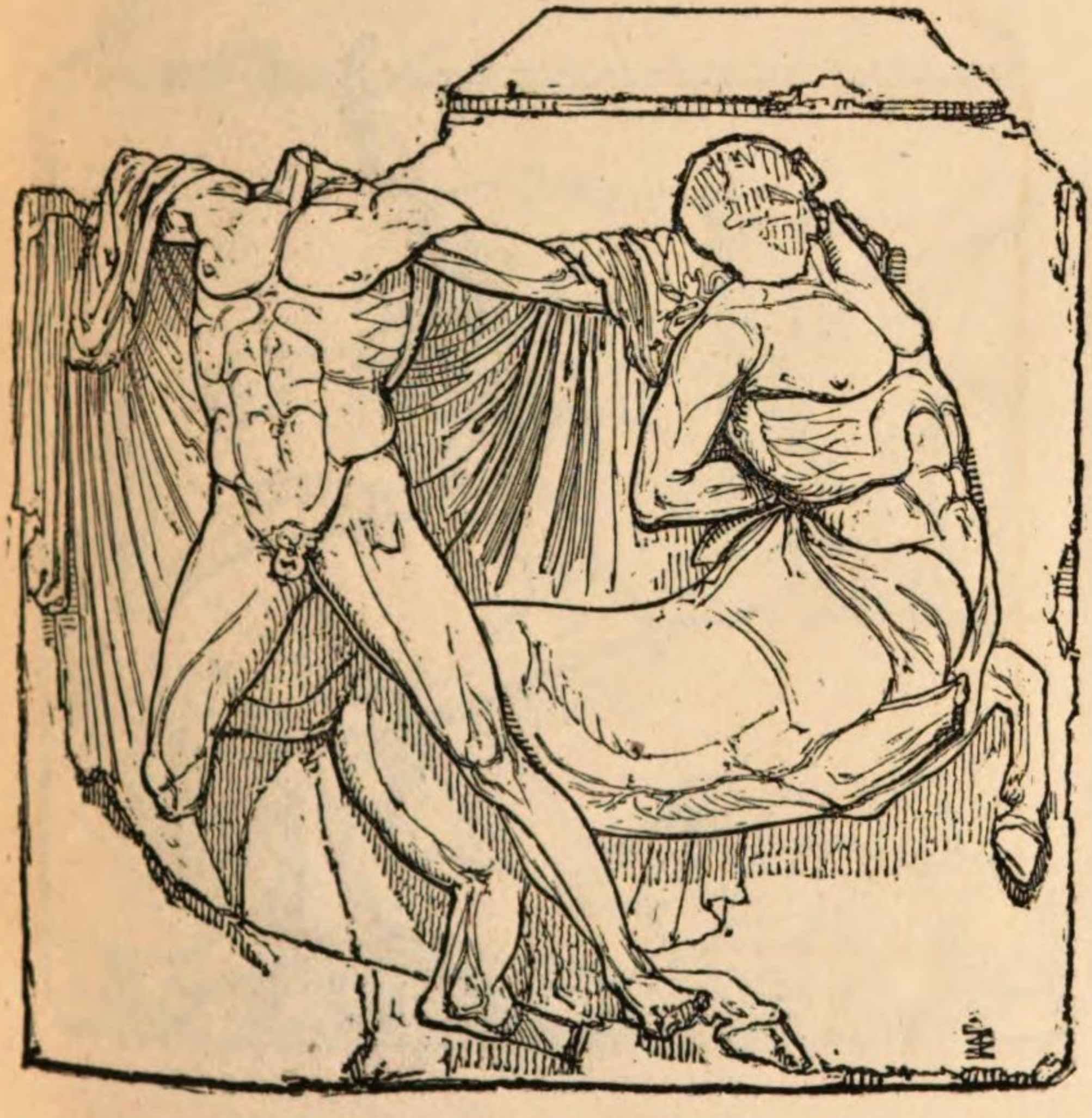
METOPE 10.

No. 13 of the old arrangement, No. 26 of Bröndsted. An Athenian resisting and driving back a Centaur, who appears, with uplifted hands, to be preparing to heave a stone or some other heavy body at his adversary. This metope has been but little injured since Carrey's time. A long drapery hangs behind the Athenian to his feet.



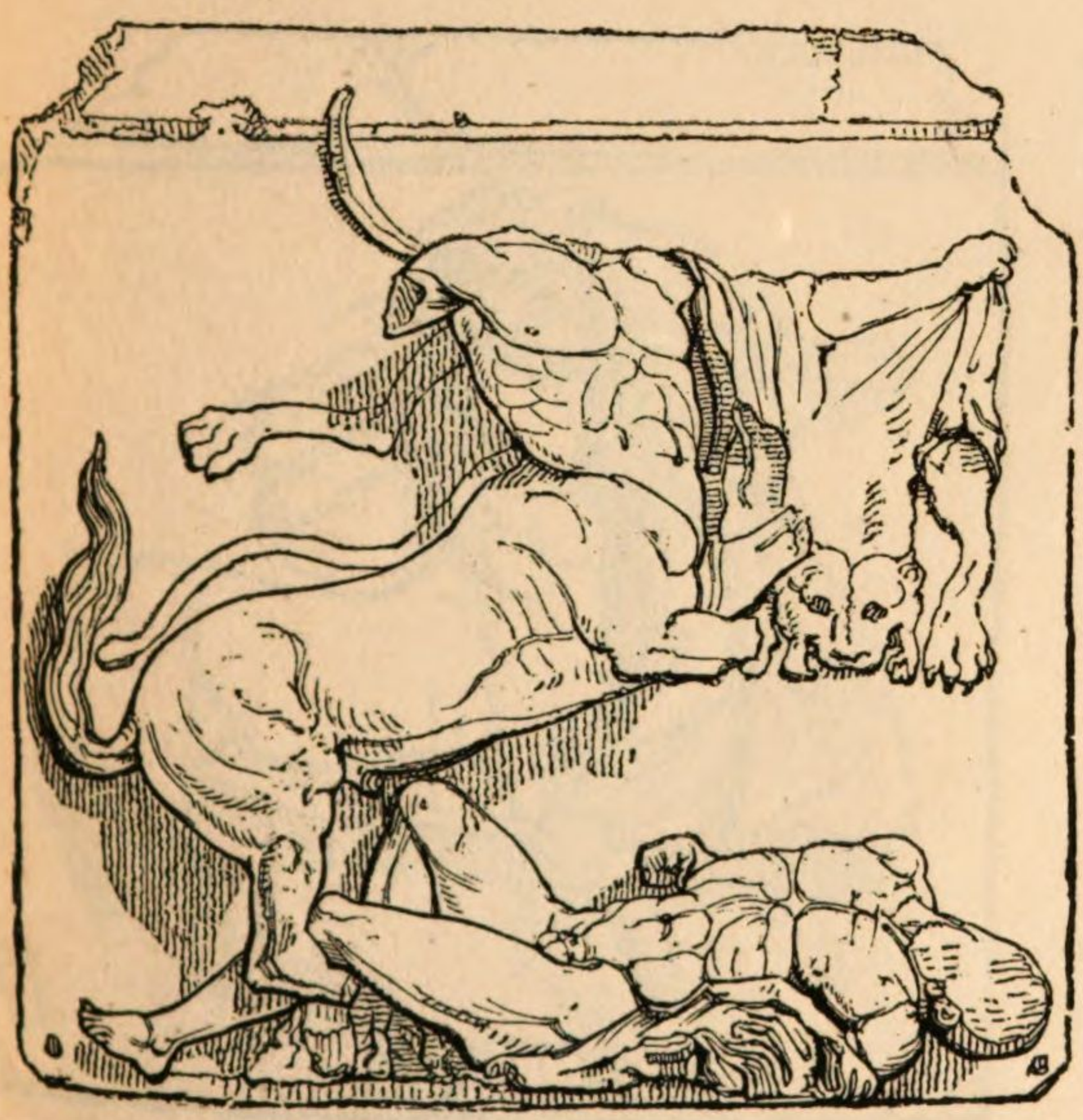
METOPE 11.

No. 7 of the old arrangement, No. 27 of Bröndsted. This metope represents an Athenian conquering a Centaur, whom he has seized by the face. A mantle suspended from the shoulders of the Athenian forms an ample back-ground to both figures. The body of the Athenian fronts the spectator, almost detached from the tablet, and finished as exquisitely where it is not seen, as it is in front. This and the two following metopes are considered to be the finest of the Collection in point of execution.



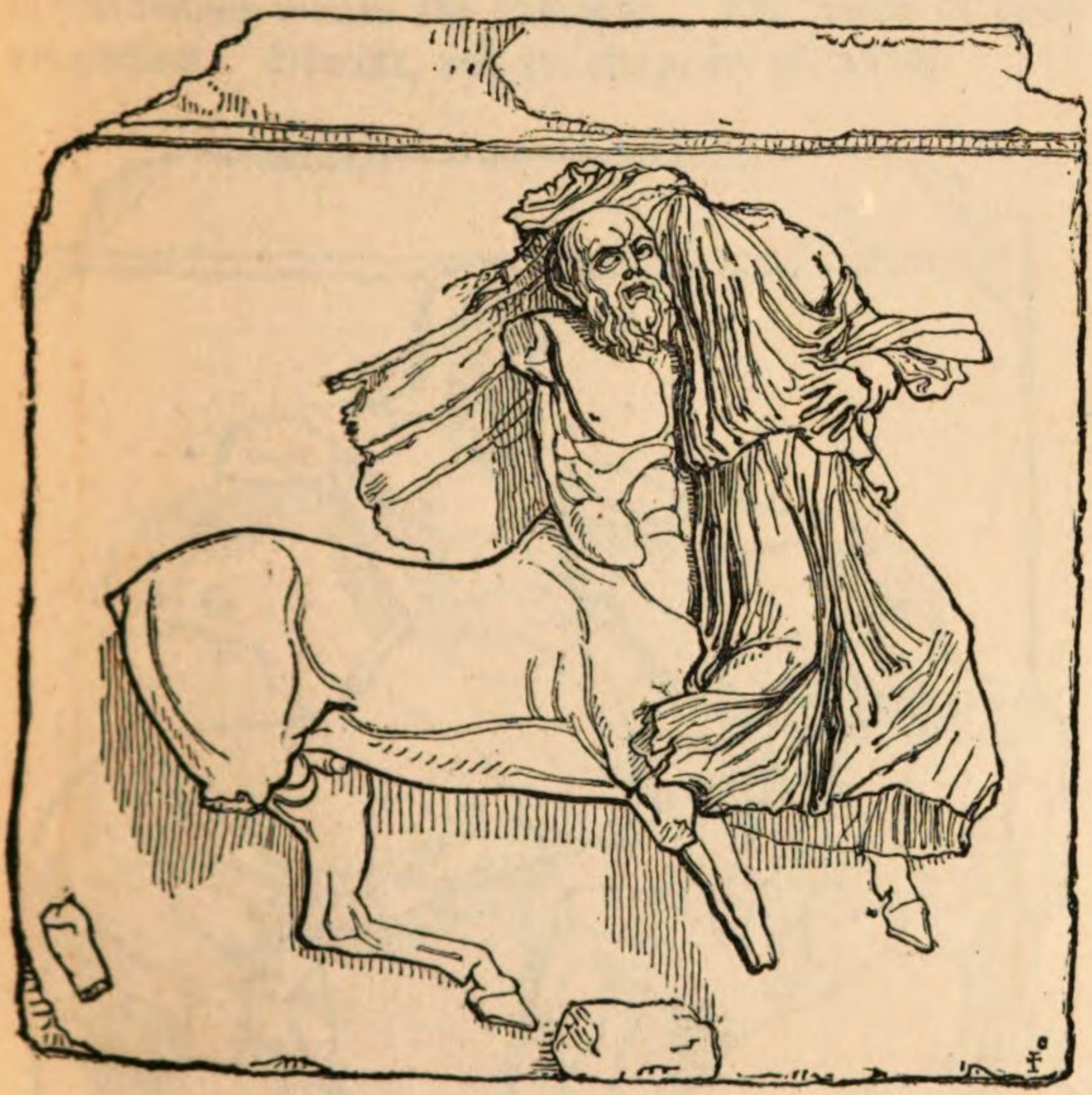
METOPE 12.

No. 1 of the old arrangement, No. 28 of M. Bröndsted. A Centaur victorious, trampling upon the body of his fallen enemy. His left arm is outstretched, upon which hangs the skin of a lion, a portion of which flies behind him. The right arm is broken off near the shoulder: the head is also gone. There is a remarkable and an accurate expression of death in the body of the Athenian.



METOPE 13.

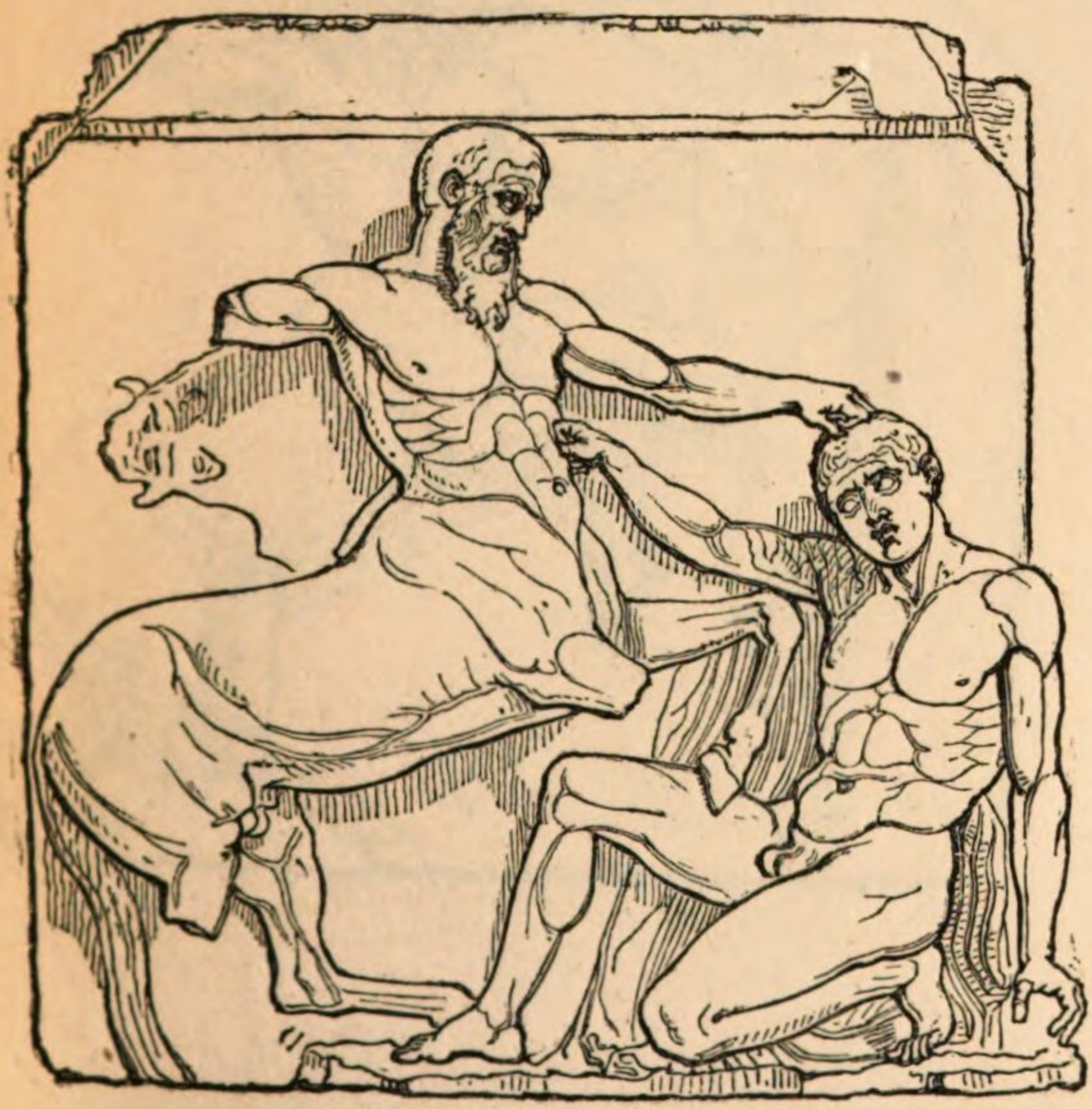
No. 3 of the old arrangement, No. 29 of Bröndsted. A Centaur carrying off a female; the action more violent and determined than the metope No. 9. The head of the female gone. This group is presumed, in the Memorandum on the Earl of Elgin's Pursuits in Greece *, to represent Hippodamia, the bride, carried off by the Centaur Eurytion. See Stuart, vol. iv. chap. iv. pl. xxxii.



* Octavo edition, 1815, p. 11.

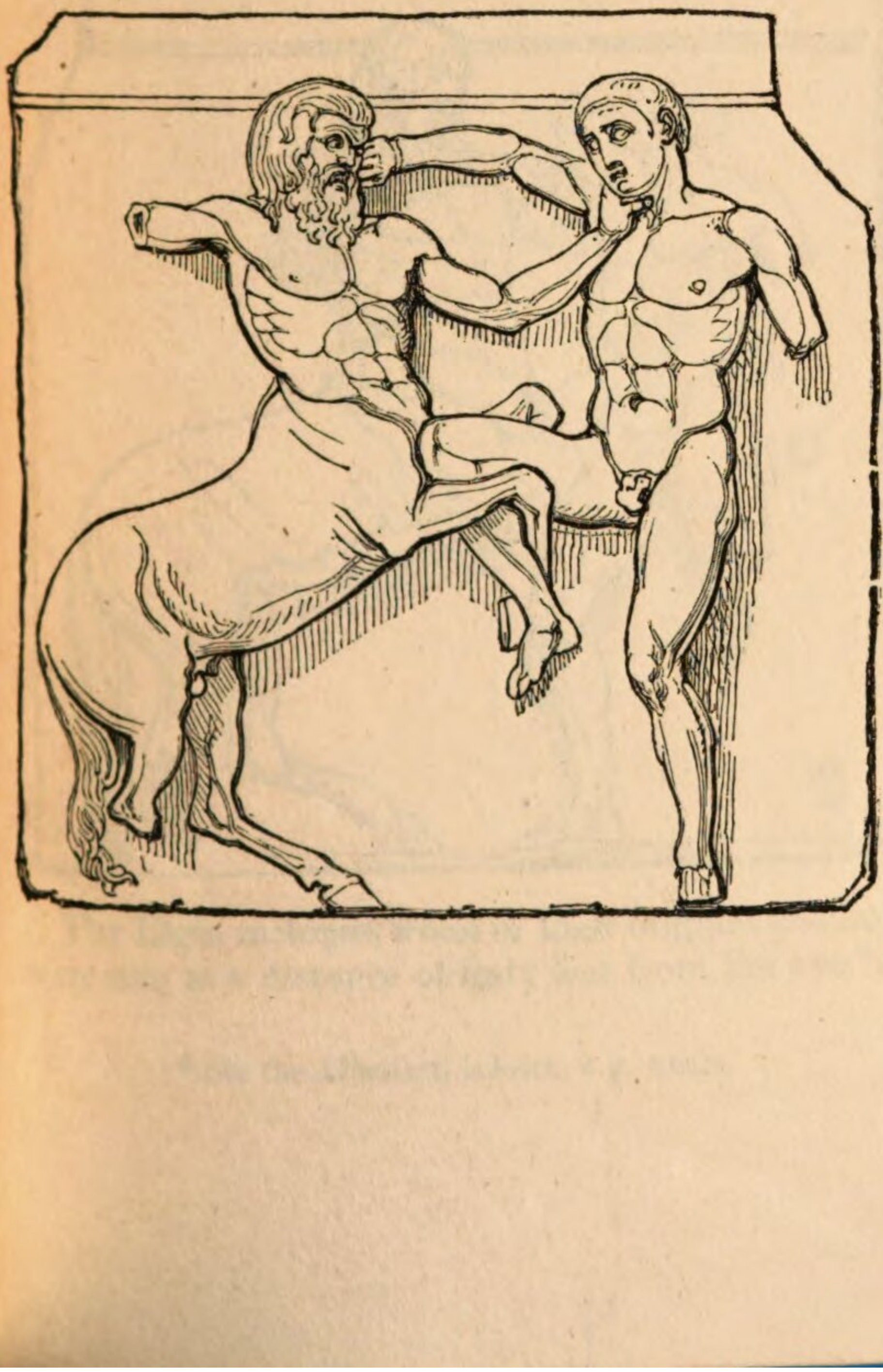
METOPE 14.

No. 9 of the old arrangement, No. 30 in M. Bröndsted's plates. This metope, in its subject, is not unsimilar to the metope No. 7, though the style of treatment is varied. A Centaur overcomes an Athenian, whom he is pressing to the ground. The Athenian appears stabbing his adversary in the left side with his right hand, whilst with his left he is seizing a stone. Both figures have drapery: that of the Centaur appears to be the skin of some animal; the Athenian wears the chlamys. The heads of both are perfect. Stuart, vol. iv. chap. iv. pl. xxxiii.



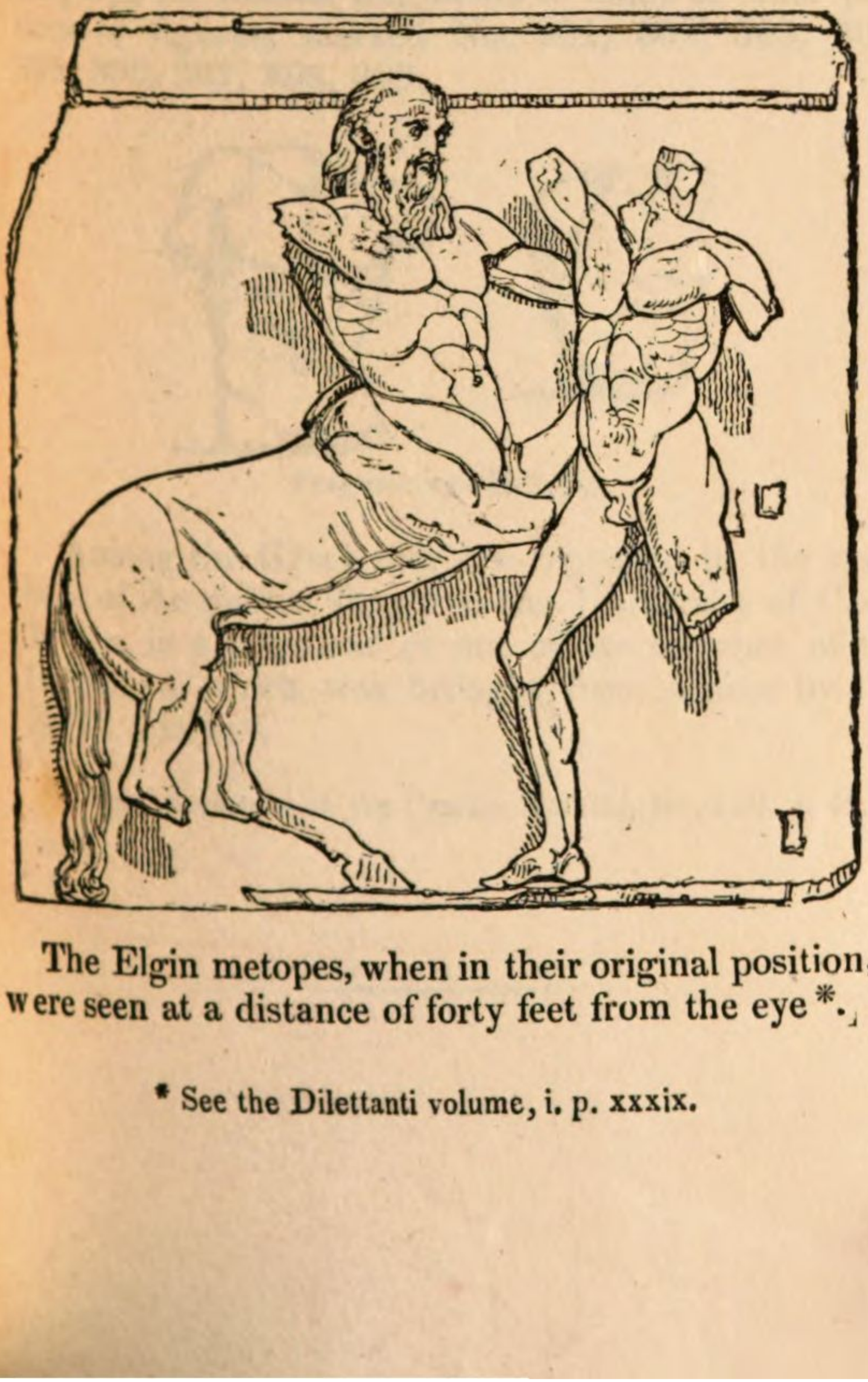
Metope 15.

No 14 of the old arrangement, No. 31 of Bröndsted. A Centaur and an Athenian engaged in contest; the success uncertain. Both are naked. The right arm of the Centaur and the left of the Athenian are broken off. The heads are perfect. As a specimen of sculpture this is perhaps the least remarkable of the Elgin metopes. Stuart, vol. iv. chap. iv. pl. xxxiii.



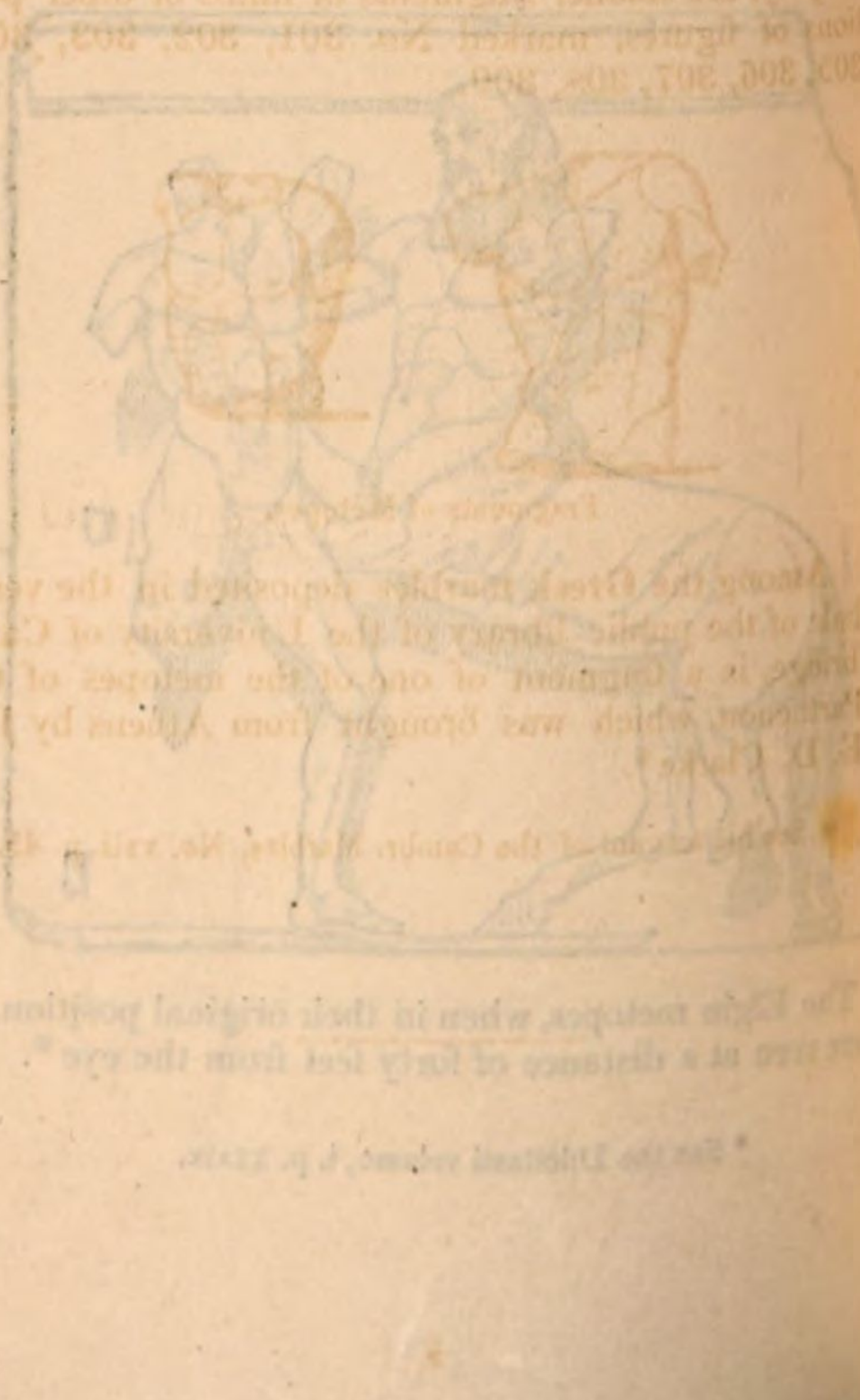
METOPE 16.

No. 10 of the old arrangement, No. 32 of Bröndsted. Another undecided contest. The parties likewise unclothed. The right arm and leg of the Centaur, and both arms and the left leg of the Athenian, broken off. The similarity of design and workmanship in this and the preceding metope, have led to the conclusion that they were executed by the same hand.

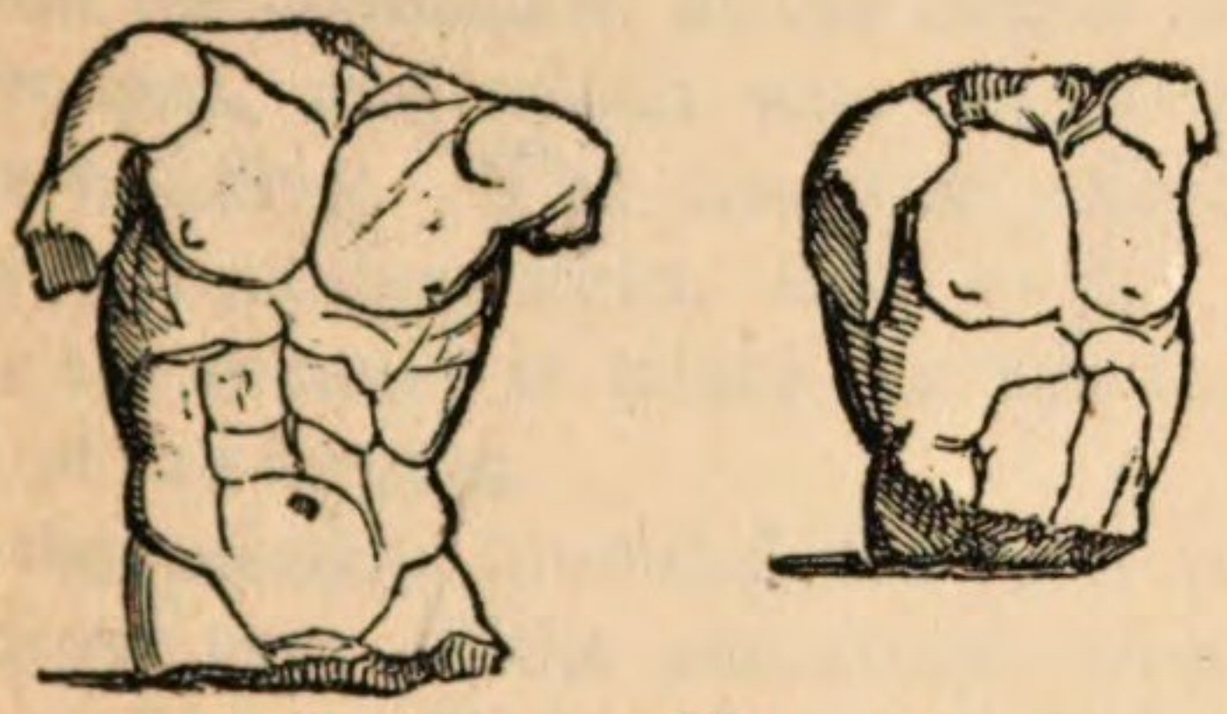


The Elgin metopes, when in their original position, were seen at a distance of forty feet from the eye *.

* See the Dilettanti volume, i. p. xxxix.



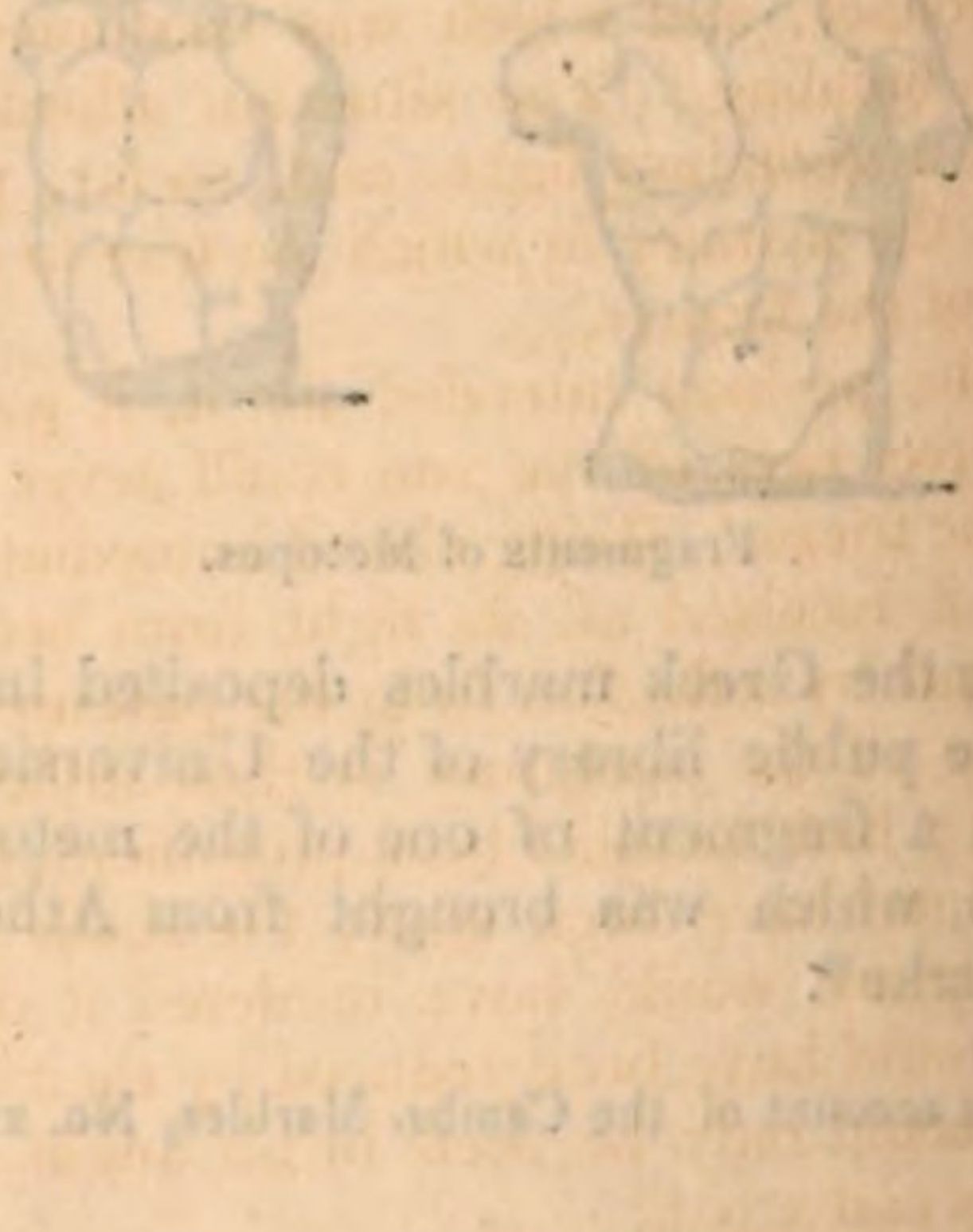
Fragments of various figures of the metopes of the Parthenon are remaining in the Elgin collection, which cannot be assigned to their respective *alti-relievi:* some had been knocked off by violence long before Lord Elgin obtained his firmauns of removal; and others, from the almost detached relief of the figures, had probably dropped from age. The two largest fragments are represented in the cut below, No. 319 and 323. The rest, with the exception of No. 321, the chest of a female figure covered with drapery, are smaller fragments of limbs or other portions of figures, marked No. 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309.



Fragments of Metopes.

Among the Greek marbles deposited in the vestibule of the public library of the University of Cambridge, is a fragment of one of the metopes of the Parthenon, which was brought from Athens by Dr. E. D. Clarke*.

* See his account of the Cambr. Marbles, No. xxii. p. 45.



Chapter IX.

THE PANATHENAIC FRIEZE.

One of the richest ornaments with which Phidias embellished the outside of the temple of the Parthenon, was, without doubt, that uninterrupted series of bas-reliefs which occupied the upper part of the walls within the colonnade, at the height of the frieze of the Pronaos, and which was continued entirely round the building. The situation afforded to the work only a secondary light, and, so far, prescribed to Phidias the manner in which he was to direct the execution of the figures.

From the position intended for it, it was evident that the direct rays of the sun could never reach the Panathenaic frieze. Being placed immediately below the soffit, it received all its light from between the columns, and by reflection from the pavement below. The flatness of the sculpture is thus sufficiently accounted for; had the relief been prominent, the upper parts could not have been seen; the shade projected by the sculpture would have rendered it dark, and the parts would have been reduced by their shadows. The frieze could only be seen in an angle of forty-two degrees and a half.

The subject represented the sacred procession which was celebrated every fifth year at Athens in honour of Minerva, the guardian goddess of the city; and embraced in its composition all the external observances of the highest festival of the Athenians.

The blocks of marble of which the frieze was

composed were three feet four inches high; they were placed about nine feet within the external row of columns; and occupied, slab after slab, a space of five hundred and twenty-four feet in length. As a connected subject, this was the most extensive piece of sculpture ever made in Greece. The images of the gods, deified heroes, basket bearers, bearers of libatory vessels, trains of females, persons of every age and sex, men on horseback, victims, charioteers, in short the whole people were represented in it conveying in solemn pomp to this very temple of the Parthenon, the Πέπλος, or sacred veil, which was to be suspended before the statue of the goddess within.

Meursius, in his Panathenæa and Reliquiæ Atticæ, has collected from ancient authors many particulars concerning this Peplus. It was the work of young virgins selected from the best families in Athens, over whom two of the principal, called Arrephoræ, were superintendents. On it was embroidered the battle of the gods and giants; amongst the gods, was Jupiter hurling his thunderbolts against the rebellious crew, and Minerva, seated in her chariot, appeared as the vanquisher of Typhon or Enceladus. In the Hecuba of Euripides, the chorus of captive Trojan females are lamenting in anticipation the evils which they will suffer in the land of the Greeks. "In the city of Pallas, of Athena on the beautiful seat, in the woven peplus I shall yoke colts to a chariot, painting them in various different coloured threads, or else the race of the Titans, whom Zeus, the son of Kronos, puts to sleep in fiery all-surrounding flame." The names of those Athenians who had been eminent for military virtue were also embroidered on it. This will explain the following allusion in the Knights (Ἱππῆς) of Aristophanes, where the chorus says—"We wish to praise our fathers, because they were an honour to this country and worthy of the *peplus:*

in battles by land and in the ship-girt armament conquering on all occasions they exalted this city." When the festival was celebrated, this peplus was brought from the Acropolis, where it had been worked, down into the city; it was then displayed and suspended as a sail to the ship, which on that day, attended by a numerous and splendid procession, was conducted through the Ceramicus and other principal parts, till it had made the circuit of the Acropolis; it was then carried up to the Parthenon, and there consecrated to Minerva. See Stuart's Athens, vol. ii. p. 8. Meurs. Opera, tom. ii. col. 553. 1081.

Colonel Leake, Topogr. of Athens, p. 289, remarks: "The procession began in the outer Ceramicus, and having entered the inner Ceramicus, passed by the Hermæ, and from thence under the south side of the Acropolis to the Ilissus and Eleusinium: from thence passing near the sanctuary of Apollo Pythius, it approached the northern side of the Acropolis, and passing under the Pelasgicum, ascended to the Propylæa. The procession, after having collected in the space between the Propylæa and Parthenon, was divided into two columns, which proceeded eastward along either side of the temple. These having turned to the right and left respectively, upon reaching the angles of the eastern front, met opposite to the eastern door, when the bearer of the peplus and the two arrephori entered the temple, and delivered their sacred burthens to the archon Basileus, and to the priestess of Minerva."

Such was the frieze in its original position. Of its remains, the British Museum possesses an extent, in slabs and fragments of marble, of rather more than two hundred and forty-nine feet; with a continuation in plaster casts of more than seventy-six feet. The greater part of the last are from portions of the sculp-

ture which were not brought away, including the single slab which belonged to the Duke de Choiseul, now in the gallery of the Louvre: all forming a total of representation from the frieze, of very near three hundred and twenty-six feet.

Over the extent as we now see it, a life, an activity, a grace is expanded which is not to be found in any work of similar character. The pleasing variety which pervades the costume throughout is particularly observable. Every artist, says Dodwell, who was employed upon this work, seems to have managed the drapery according to his own notions of taste and elegance. Some of the figures are completely clothed from head to feet, others have naked feet, and others have boots of various kinds. Some have hats, or helmets, and others are uncovered. But it is from this seeming confusion, this variety of attitudes, of dress and preparation, of precipitancy and care, of busy movement and relaxed effort, that the composition derives so much of its effect. An animated reality is thus diffused throughout the subject, adding interest to every figure, and epic grandeur to the whole*.

The horses in this frieze are of exquisite beauty. Of a hundred and ten which are introduced, no two are in the same attitude; each is characterized by a marked difference of expression. Flaxman, in his lectures at the Royal Academy, used to speak of these horses with enthusiasm. He considered them as the most precious examples of Grecian power in the sculpture of animals. "The horses in the frieze in the Elgin collection," he said, "appear to live and move, to roll their eyes, to gallop, prance, and curvet; the veins of their faces and legs seem distended with circulation; in them are distinguished the hardness and decision of bony forms, from the elasticity of

* Dodwell, vol. i. p. 337.

tendon, and the softness of flesh. The beholder is charmed with the deer-like lightness and elegance of their make, and although the relief is not above an inch from the background, and they are so much smaller than nature, we can scarcely suffer reason to persuade us they are not alive*."

Of the victims represented upon the frieze, it may be sufficient to observe that to the Panathenaic festival all the colonies of Athens sent an ox to be sacrificed†.

Those who view this frieze, however, must be reminded that they are not to consider it as a close representation of national costume. It is true that the priestess, the canephori, the heralds of the procession, and some others are represented in the dresses which they are believed to have used in the solemnity. Here and there, the *cothurnus* will be seen; and in one or two instances the *Thessalian hat*. But, generally speaking, the correctness of national dress is disregarded throughout, and harmony of composition alone studied. Several of the horsemen have no garment but the chlamys; and even some of the women are without sandals.

The bas-reliefs which at present compose the frieze, as far as they extend, are placed in the same order in which they were originally seen upon the Parthenon. Those on the principal front of the temple, namely the east, are placed first, then follow those of the north, and lastly those of the west and south. They are arranged, in short, in the same manner in which the spectator viewed them as he approached the temple by the east, and walked round it by the north, west, and south. But the spectator in the Elgin room has to keep in mind that that which formerly surrounded an exterior wall now lines the interior.

* Flaxm. Lect. iv. on Science, p. 104.

† See the Schol. in Nub. Aristoph.

EASTERN FRIEZE.

The slabs 17 to 25, on the left of the entrance into the present Elgin room, form the portion which occupied the east end of the temple. The slab 19, the longest in the collection, stood immediately above the eastern gate, and was the centre of the composition.

In this slab, upon the left, a priestess is represented, whom Visconti considers to have been the wife of the reigning archon, or chief magistrate of Athens. She is in the act of receiving from two canephori, or bearers of the mystic baskets, the articles serving for the rites of sacrifice, which they are carrying upon their heads, and which are covered with a veil*.

One of these canephori has a torch in her hand, the other a scroll unrolled, upon which the hymn is supposed to have been written which these virgins sang in praise of Minerva, and which Heliodorus in his Æthiopics distinctly tells us was the practice in the celebration of the greater Panathenæa†. Harpocration, from Philochorus, informs us that the canephori were chosen from among the virgins born of the noblest families of Athens‡.

* The nature of the contents of these baskets is specified in the Peace (Εἰρήνη) of Aristophanes, l. 948.

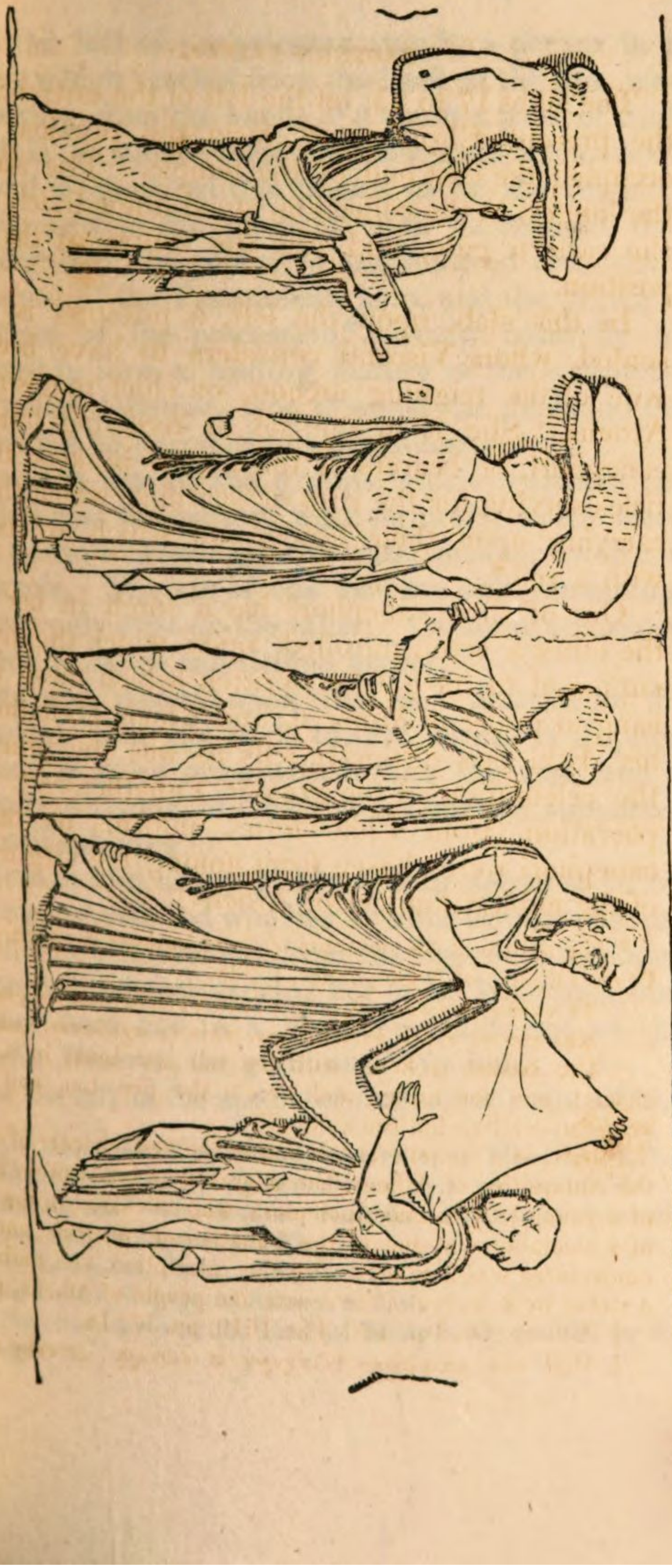
Τὸ κανοῦν πάρεστιν, ὀλὰς ἔχον, καὶ στέμμα, καὶ μάχαιραν,
Καὶ πῦρ γε τουτὶ, κοὐδὲν ἴσχει, πλὴν τὸ πρόβατον, ἡμᾶς.

"The basket is here, with the salt and meal in it, and the chaplet, and the knife; and here's the fire too, and nothing keeps us waiting but the victim."

Stuart, as a vignette at the end of the first chapter of vol. ii. of the Antiquities of Athens, has engraved an inscription in honour of a young lady named Apollodora, who officiated in the capacity of a canephoros at one of the Panathenaic festivals, and who he conjectures was honoured with this inscription, and perhaps with a statue by a decree of the senate and people of Athens, p. 44.

† Æthiop. Gr. Lat. edit. Par. 1619, pp. 17, 18.

‡ Περὶ τῶν κανηφόρων Φιλόχορος ἐν δευτέρᾳ Ἀττίδος φησιν, ὡς



Second part of 19.

To the left of the priestess stands a person in a drapery which reaches from the head to the feet, who is receiving from the hands of a youth a piece of cloth folded in a square form in numerous thicknesses. Visconti conjectured this person to be the reigning archon, and in the piece of cloth he thought that he recognized the peplus or embroidered veil, which as the sail of the Panathenaic ship, and the principal ornament of the procession*, would naturally be expected to form a leading feature in the sculpture. The young Athenian who presents the peplus to the archon has no garment but the chlamys.

On each side of the groups which represent the priestess and the archon, were formerly, as we learn from Carrey's drawings, six seats, making twelve in the whole. The six of one side are still remaining, but two only exist on the other. On these are seated various divinities and deified heroes.

The god placed upon the seat nearest to the canephori, with his back toward them, is Jupiter. His seat is more ornamented than the rest, and is properly a throne, of which the arms are supported by small sphinxes.

Close to him sits a goddess, who seems to be removing her veil, and who has by some been considered as Juno†; but Visconti, from the figure of a winged Victory behind, has decided her to be Minerva‡, who appears here not in a warrior's habit, but as the peaceful Minerva, the goddess of Wisdom.

On the left of the spectator four other seats of the

Ἐριχθονίου βασιλεύοντος πρῶτον κατέστησαν αἱ ἐν ἀξιώματι παρθένοι φέρειν τὰ κανᾶ τῇ θεῷ ἐφ' οἷς ἐπέκειτο τὰ πρὸς τὴν θυσίαν, τοῖς τε Παναθηναίοις, καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις πομπαῖς. Harpocrat. Lexicon, edit. Lug. Bat. 1683, 4to. p. 206.

* See Euripides, Hecub. 460.

† See Leake, Topogr. of Athens, p. 219.

‡ The olive-leaves on the head of Minerva are omitted in the drawing.

same form follow that of Minerva; these occupy more than half of the slab 18. On the first is seated a young god, who, with his hands clasped in each other, is raising his right knee; resembling the Mars in repose of the villa Ludovisi at Rome.

This figure is considered to be Triptolemus, an antient hero of Attica, who instructed mankind in the cultivation of corn. Ceres occupies the seat next to him. Her head was formerly crowned, and she is distinguished by holding a large torch.

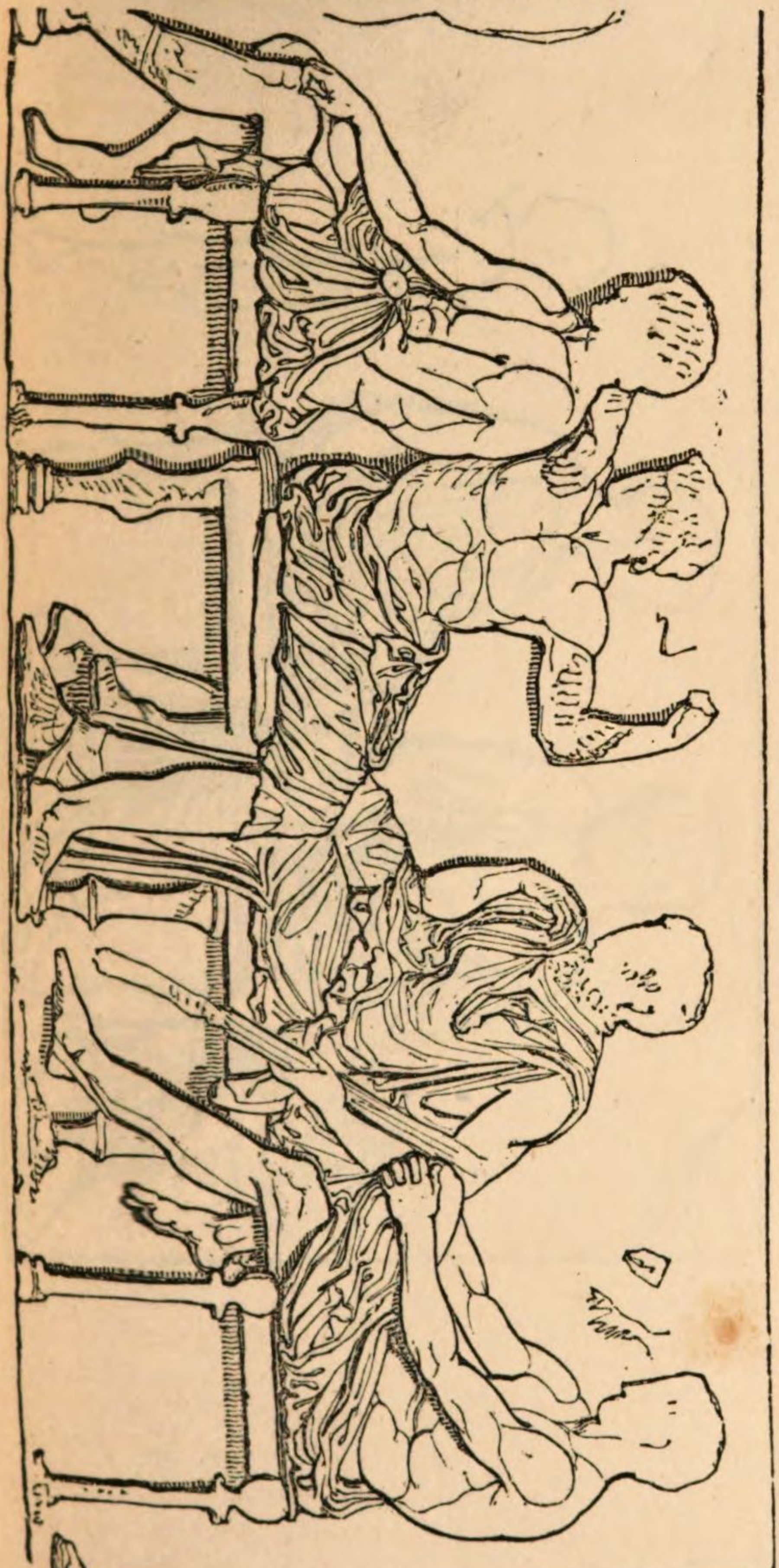
The neighbouring seats to the left are occupied by two divinities sitting in contrary directions, but as the right arm of one is laid familiarly upon the shoulder of the other, they are thought to represent the Dioscuri, Castor and Pollux, the sons of Jupiter and Leda, who were worshipped by the Athenians and had temples at Athens.

On the two seats at the end of slab 19, on the right of the spectator, we see Æsculapius and his daughter Hygeia (Health).

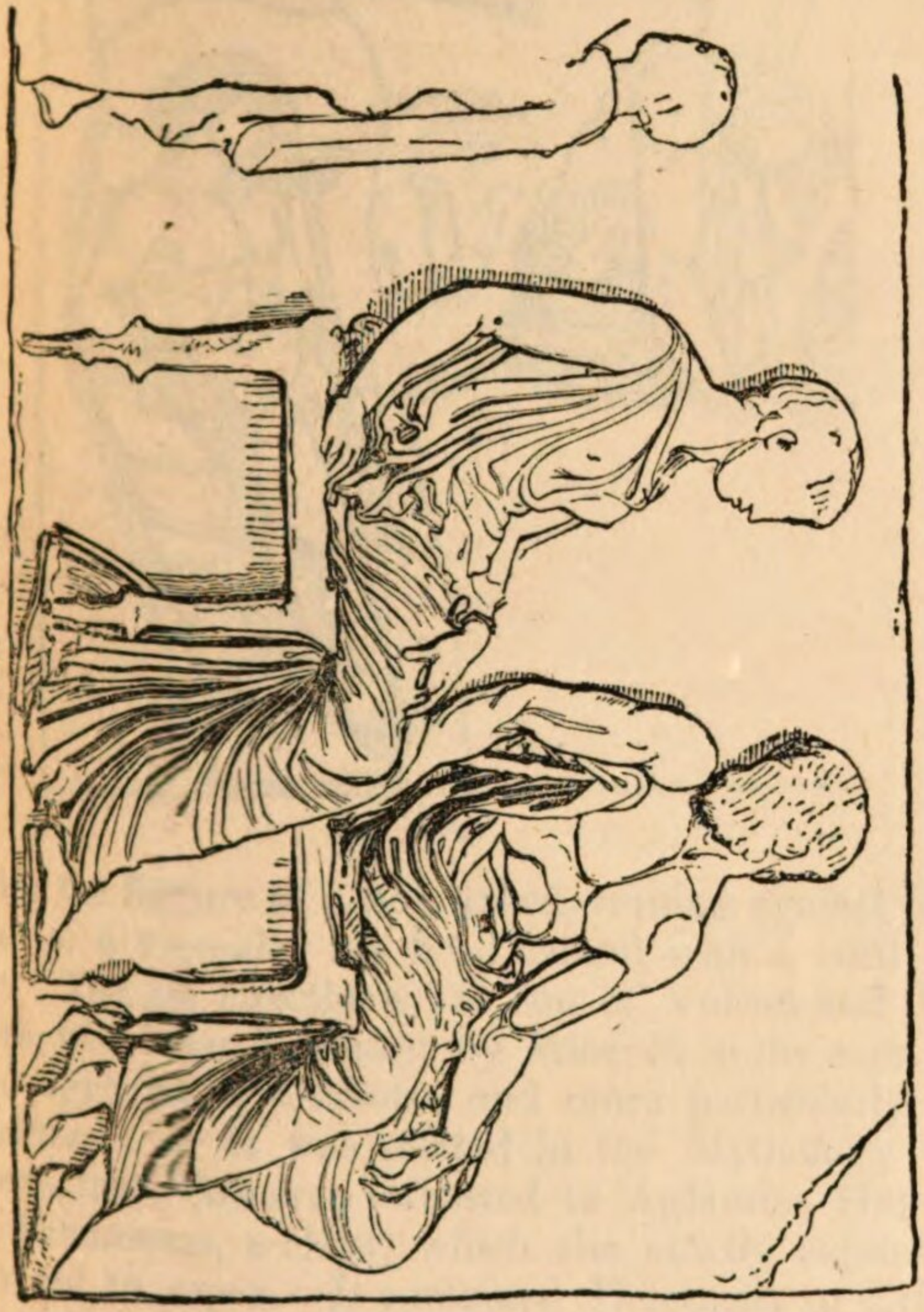
Hygeia is known by the attribute of a small serpent twined round her left arm, which from the corrosion of the surface is not easily discovered. Æsculapius leans upon the end of a staff. The third slab, which represented four other divinities, also seated, had disappeared even before Stuart visited Athens. From the drawings made for the Marquis de Nointel, however, aided by a fragment of which a cast still exists, Visconti has conjectured with great probability that two of the lost figures were those of Neptune and Theseus; and as the farthest seated group on the opposite side represented two brothers, he considered that this which consisted of females might represent two sisters, Aglauros and Pandrosos, the daughters of Cecrops, who were also regarded by the Athenians as divinities, and were honoured with temples in the Acropolis. A copy of the cast from the fragment

First part of 19.

alluded to, which formerly belonged to this part of the frieze, has been obtained, and is inserted in the blank between this and the next slab, close to the mutilated remain of the stone from which its mould was taken, and is marked 20.



Second part of 18.



End of Slab 19.

20.

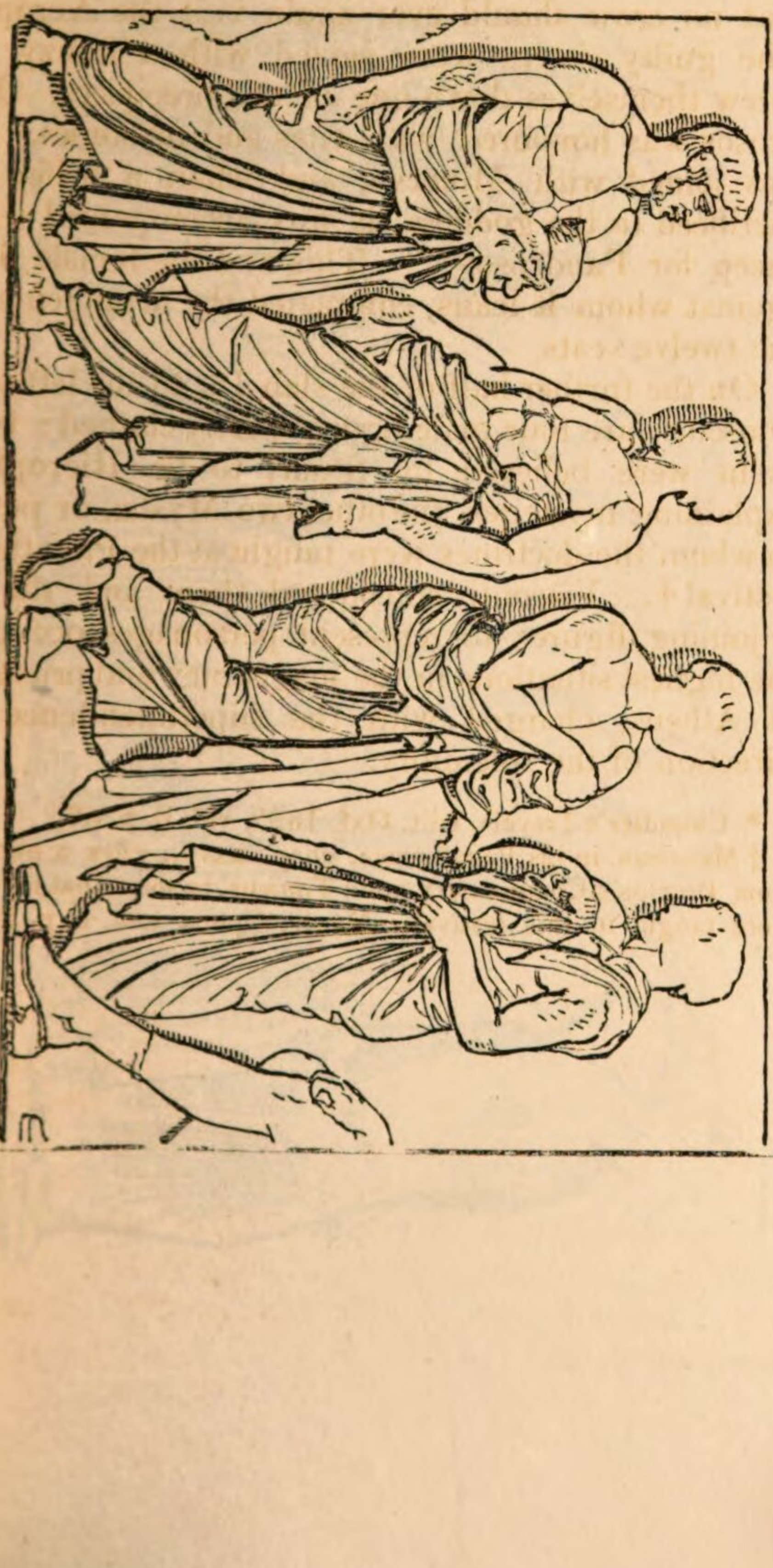
It is the figure of a boy naked, leaning against the knees of a female; his head bound with a cord or fillet. This is Erectheus, the son of Vulcan and the Earth, who was intrusted by Minerva to the care of the daughters of Cecrops, and more particularly to Pandrosos. "It was related in the Mythology of Athens, that Minerva intrusted to Aglauros, Herse, and Pandrosos, a chest, which she strictly enjoined them not to open. It contained Erectheus or Erichthonius, an infant, the offspring of Vulcan and of the Earth, guarded by a serpent. Curiosity prevailing, the two elder sisters disobeyed. The goddess was gone to Pallene for a mountain, intending to blockade the entrance of the Acropolis. A busy crow met her, on her return, and informed her

what had passed, when she dropped the mountain, which was afterwards called Lycabettus; and displeased with the officious tale-bearer, commanded that no crow should ever again visit the Acropolis. The guilty sisters were seized with a frenzy, and threw themselves down one of the precipices. Pandrosos was honoured with rites and mysteries. She was joined with Minerva, and when a heifer was sacrificed to the goddess, it was accompanied with a sheep for Pandrosos*." This and the female figure against whom it leans, completed the arrangement of the twelve seats.

On the further half of the slab 18, to the left of the Dioscuri, are four male figures partly clothed: two of them were believed by Stuart to be Hierophants explaining mysteries, the other two Mystæ, or persons to whom the doctrines were taught at the Panathenaic festival†. Visconti considered them and the two adjoining figures to represent personages occupying the highest situations in the magistracy and priesthood of Athens, charged with the superintendence and direction of the solemnity.

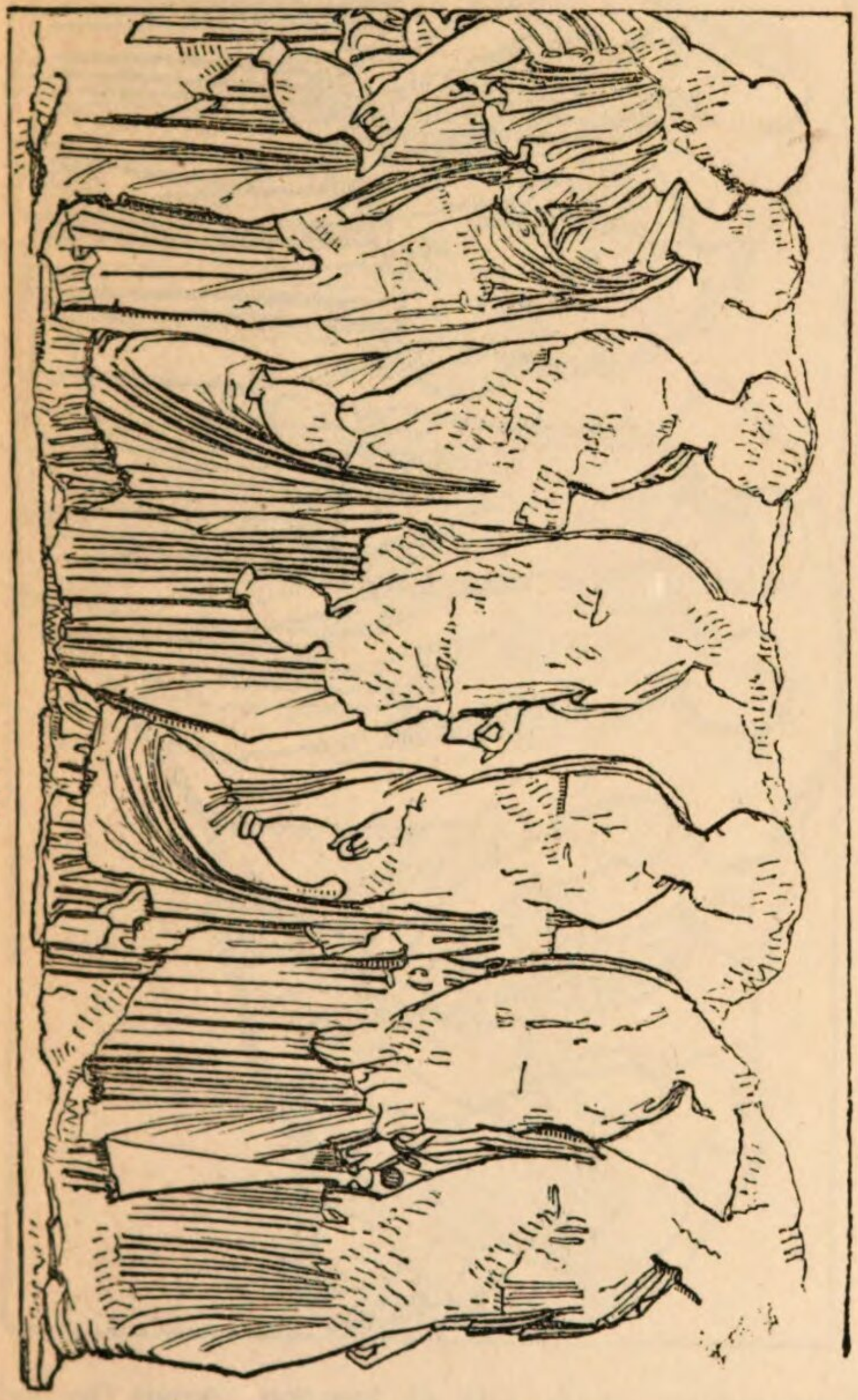
* Chandler's Travels, edit. Oxf. 1825, vol. ii. p. 66.

† Meursius, in his Panathenæa, chap. xxvii., cites a quotation from Proclus's Commentary upon Timæus, to show that mysteries were taught in this festival. Meurs. Opera, tom. ii. p. 595.

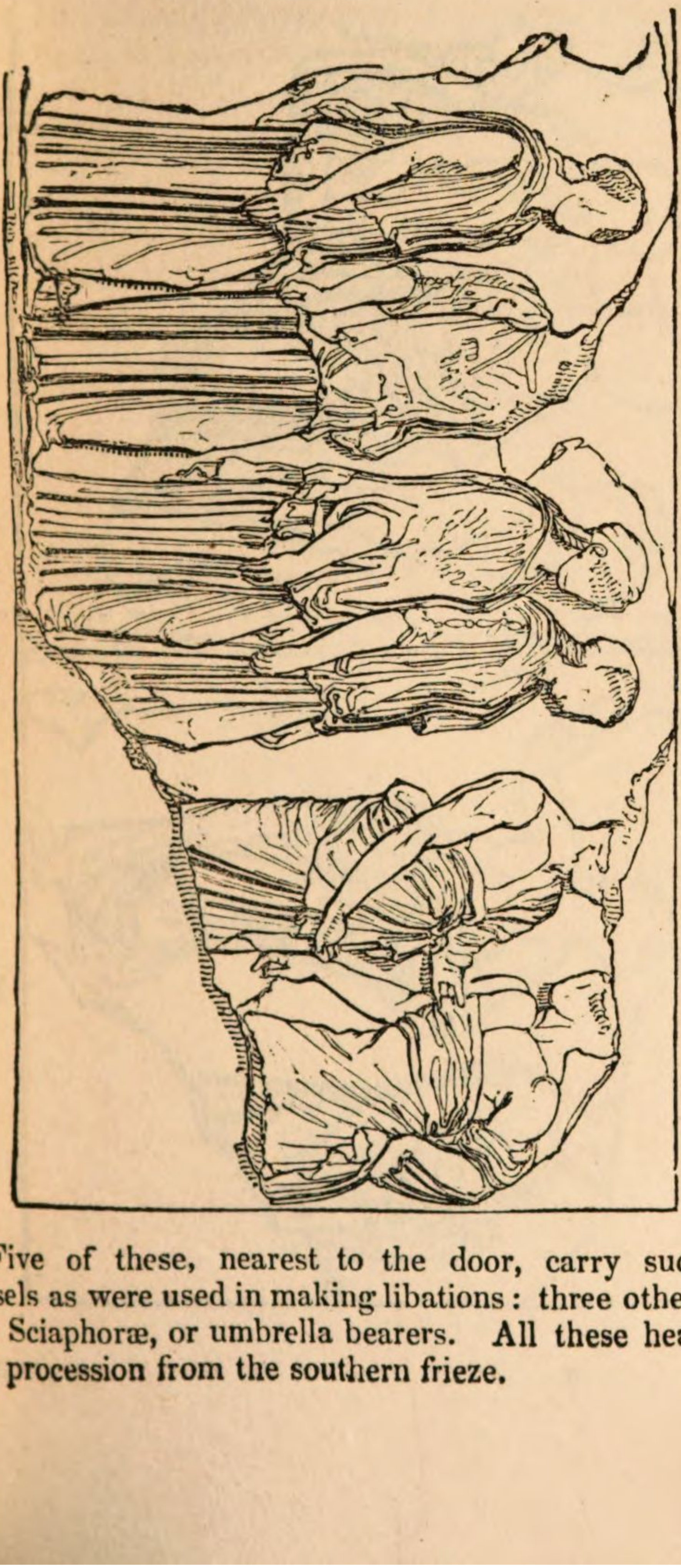


First part of 18.

On No. 17, at the entrance of the room, eleven female figures are seen clothed to the feet, representing the virgins of Attica.

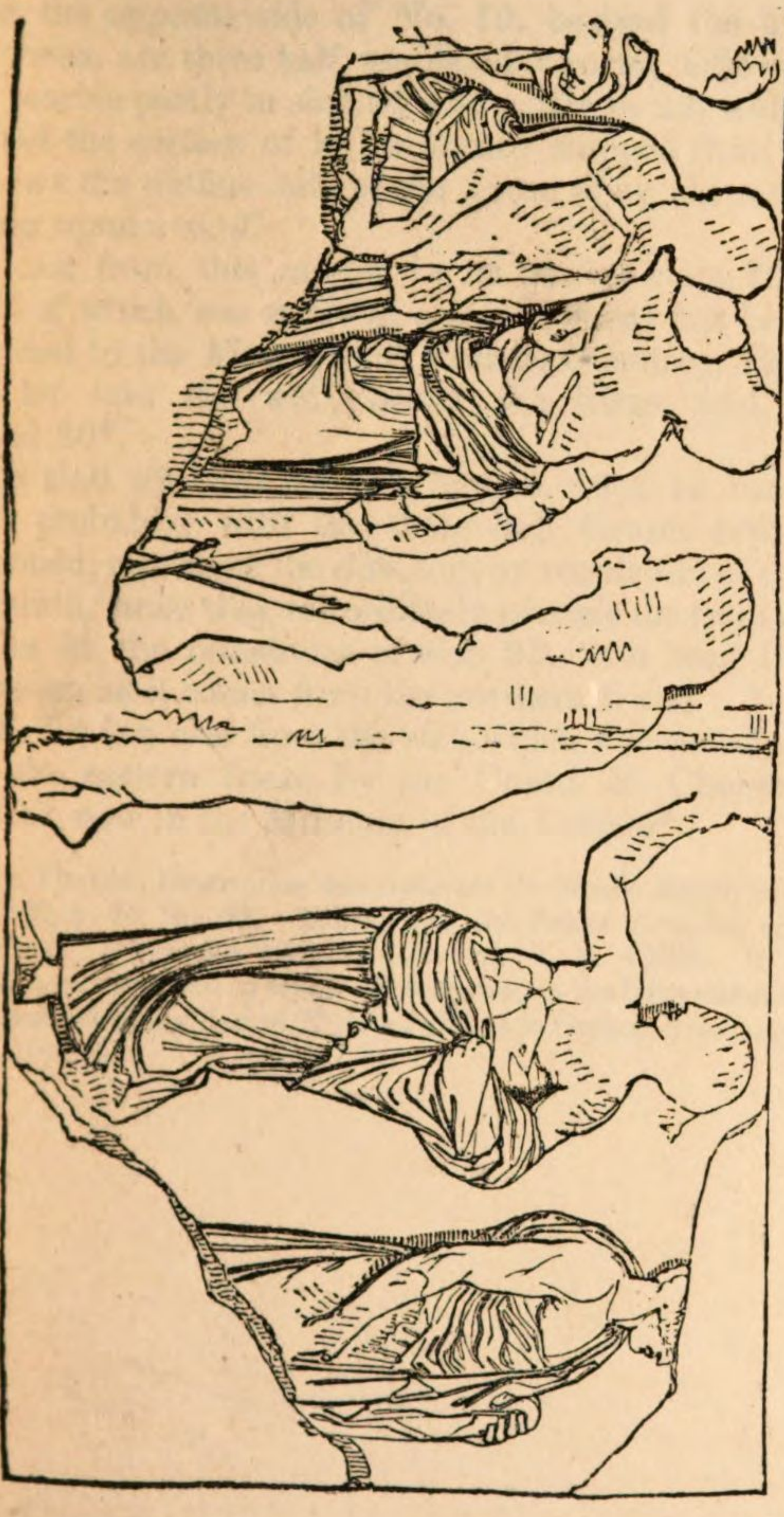


First part of 17.



Second part of 17.

Five of these, nearest to the door, carry such vessels as were used in making libations: three others are Sciaphoræ, or umbrella bearers. All these head the procession from the southern frieze.



21.

22.

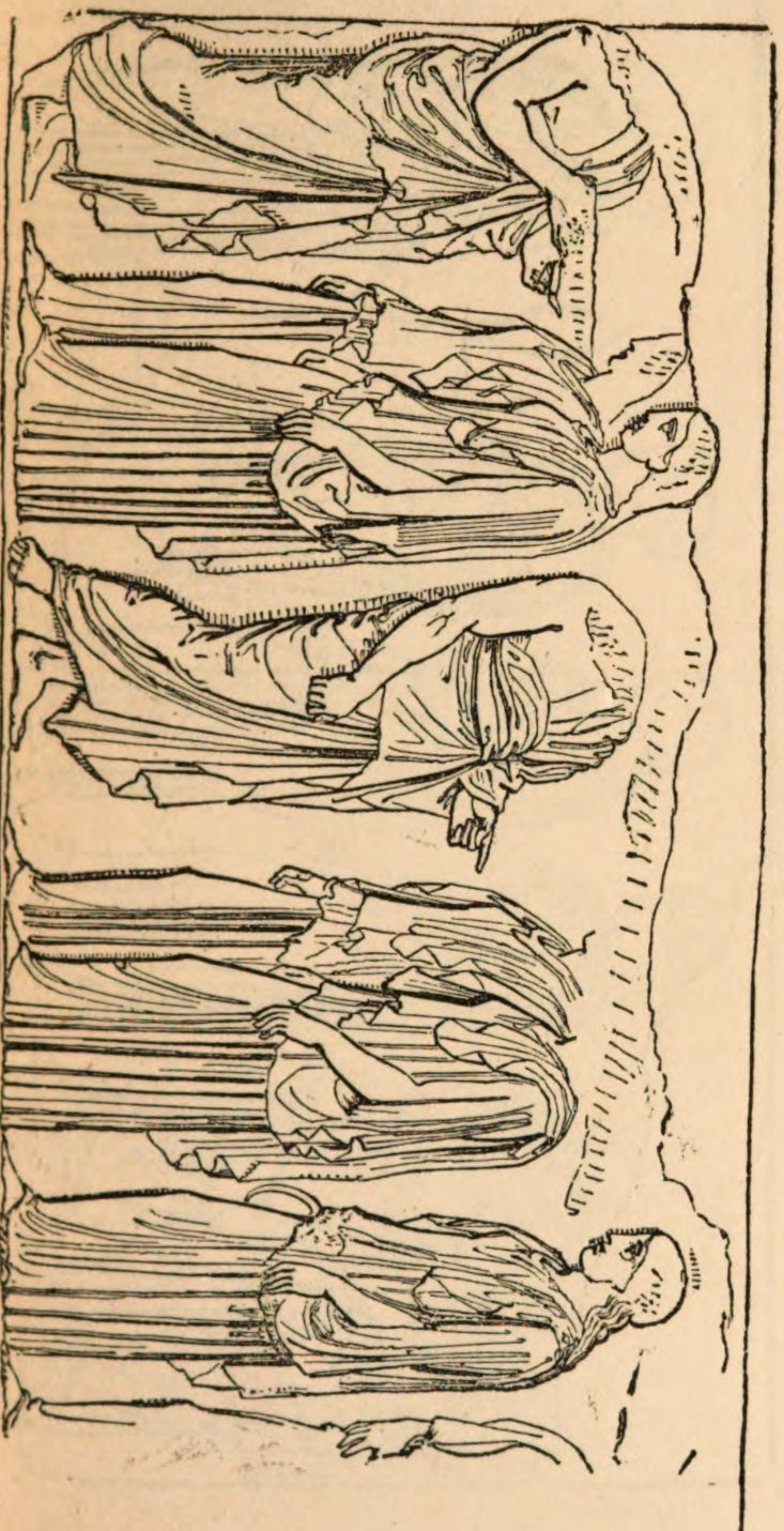
On the opposite side of No. 19, beyond the boy Erectheus, are three half mutilated figures, followed by a marble partly in slab 21 and partly in 22, which has had the surface of its sculpture chipped from it. It shows the outline only of the figure of an old man, leaning upon a staff.

A cast from this marble in its perfect state (the mould of which was made at a former time) has been presented to the Museum by Francis Chantrey, Esq. it is let into the wall, below the frieze, and is marked 20*.

The slab 22 exhibits two figures, back to back, which probably, with the three half figures before mentioned, represent the directors or regulators of the procession, since they immediately precede the train of females in the remainder of slab 23, who head the procession as it comes from the northern frieze.

No. 23 is a cast from the slab which was detached from the eastern frieze by the Count de Choiseul Gouffier, now in the Museum of the Louvre*.

*See Visconti, Description des Antiques de Musée Royal, 8vo. Par. 1820, p. 44, No. 82. Millin, Dict. des Beaux Arts, &c. art. Parthenon. Monumens inedits. 4to. tom. ii. p. 43-48. It is engraved, accompanied by Millin's description, in the Memorandum on the subject of the Earl of Elgin's Pursuits in Greece, 8vo. Lond. 1811, App. C.



23.

24.

In the compartment 24, six other Athenian virgins are seen advancing, two bear a candelabrum, two carry libatory vases, and the two last carry pateræ.

The slab 25, much mutilated, presents a single figure carrying a kind of tray upon his shoulder, which was filled with cakes and other articles. The hind drapery of the figure which preceded it also appears upon the slab.

25.

Here the sculptures of the frieze which adorned the eastern front of the Parthenon terminate.

From some fragments engraved by Stuart, and from the Nointel drawings, it appears that the virgins who led the procession from the northern frieze, like those on the southern side, were followed by oxen led

as victims *; the foreigners settled in Athens, denominated Metœci, also appeared in the procession; others called Ascophori, bearers of leathern bottles which contained libations; after whom, according to the drawings, walked three players on the flute, and next to these four Citharœdi, or performers on the lyre. "Pericles," says Visconti, "in order to give additional embellishments to the feast of the Panathenæa, had instituted prizes for music, and more particularly for these two instruments †; and Phidias had not neglected to distinguish among the bas-reliefs of the temple this new ornament, which his protector and his friend had lately added to the solemnity." Meursius, in his Panathenæa, Opera, tom. ii. col. 563, has a whole chapter upon the musical contest at this ceremonial. A troop of citizens closed the train of persons on foot. But all these have disappeared from the

NORTHERN FRIEZE,

the remains of which ‡ at present begin with No. 26.

On this slab, a youth, the victor in a chariot race, is represented receiving the crown. Stuart and Visconti appear to have mistaken this youth for a figure of Victory without wings §. Athenæus, lib. v., expressly alludes to the crowning of persons who were victors in the Panathenaic games.

The slabs marked 27, 28, 29, 30, and 31 present chariots and charioteers in action.

* Stuart has engraved a fragment of one of the victims, from the northern side of the temple.

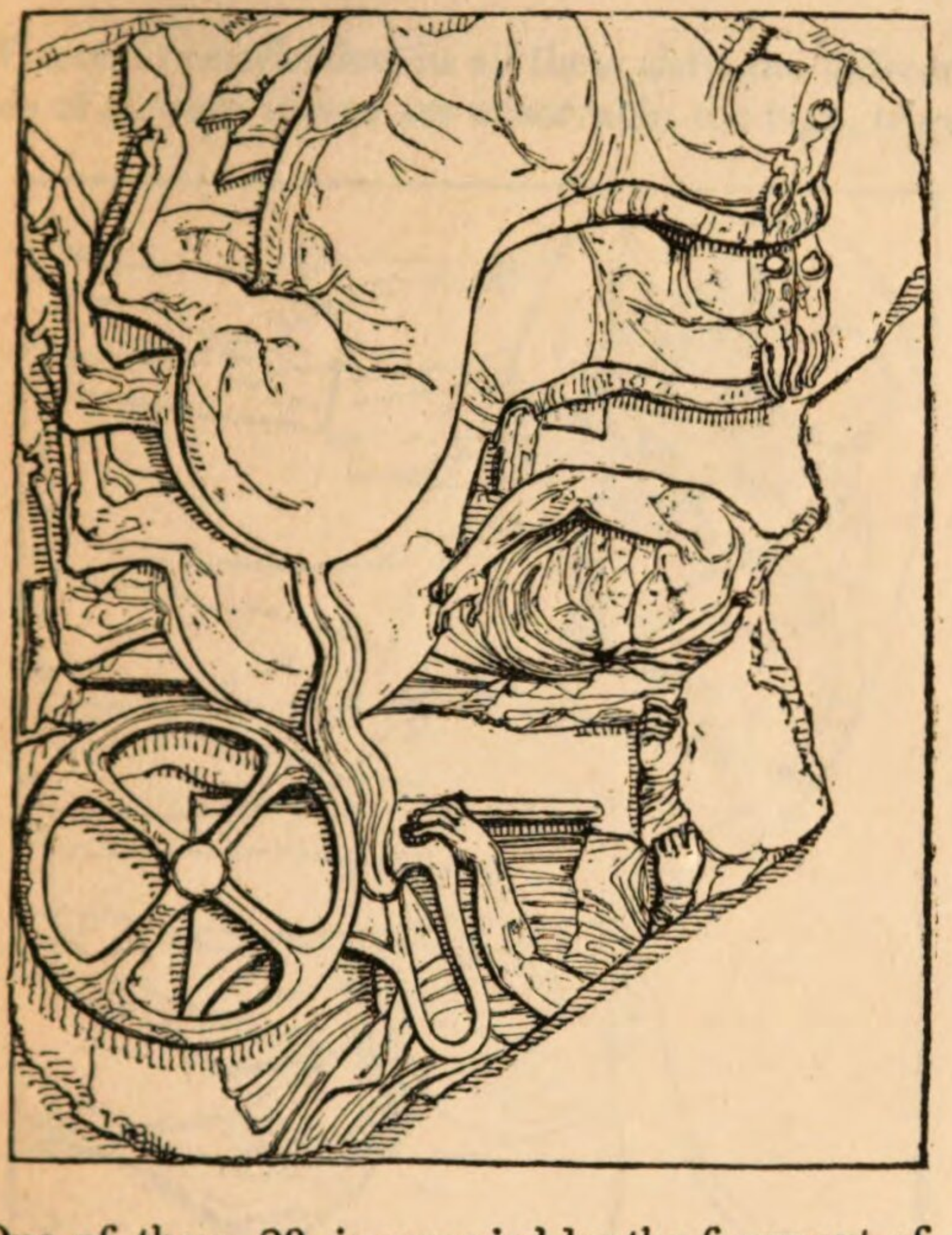
† Memoir on the Sculptures of the Parthenon, 8vo. 1816, p. 74.

‡ Nineteen Metopes and a large portion of the northern frieze fell when the Acropolis was besieged by the Venetians in 1687.

§ See Visconti's Memoir, p. 77.

26.

27.

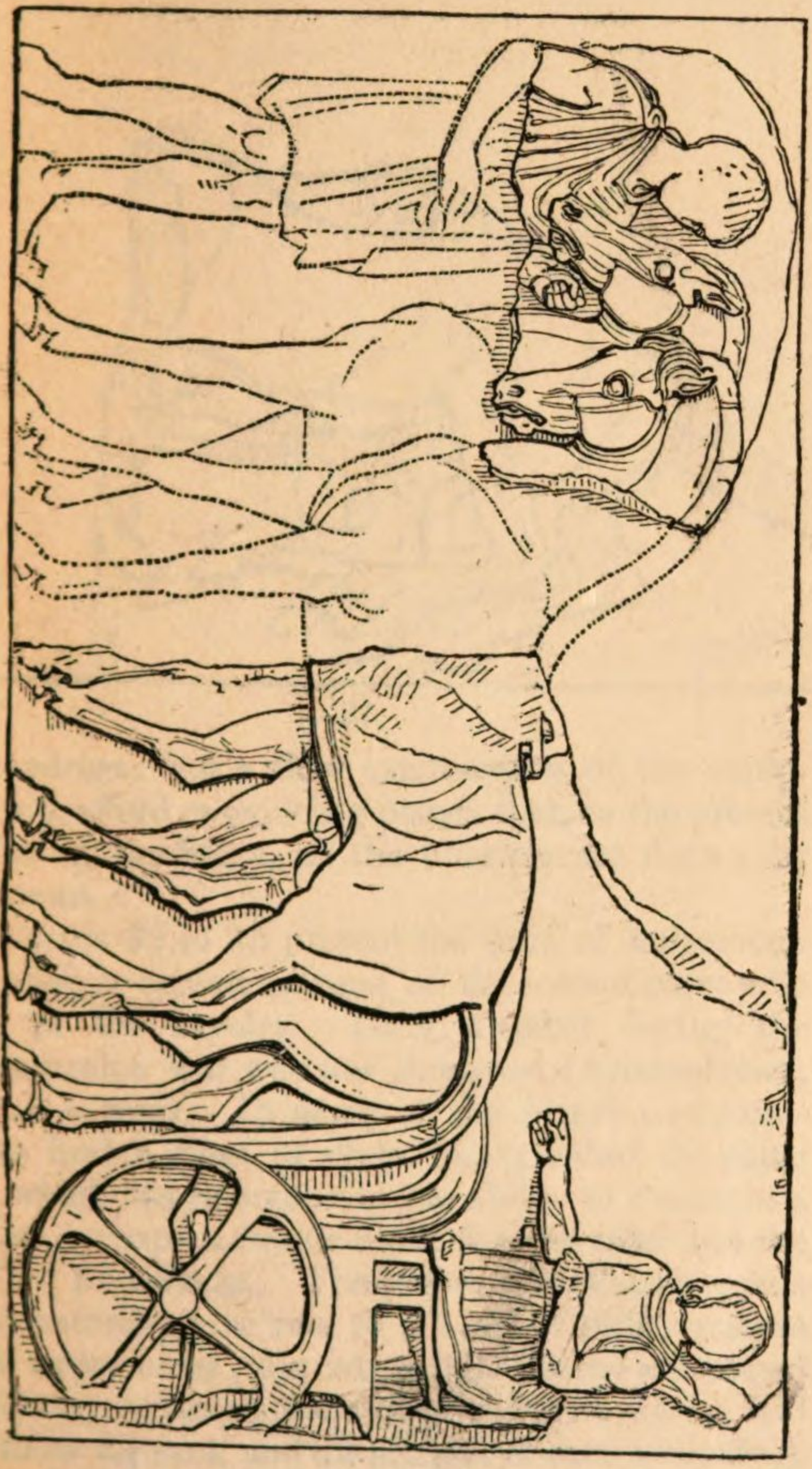


28.

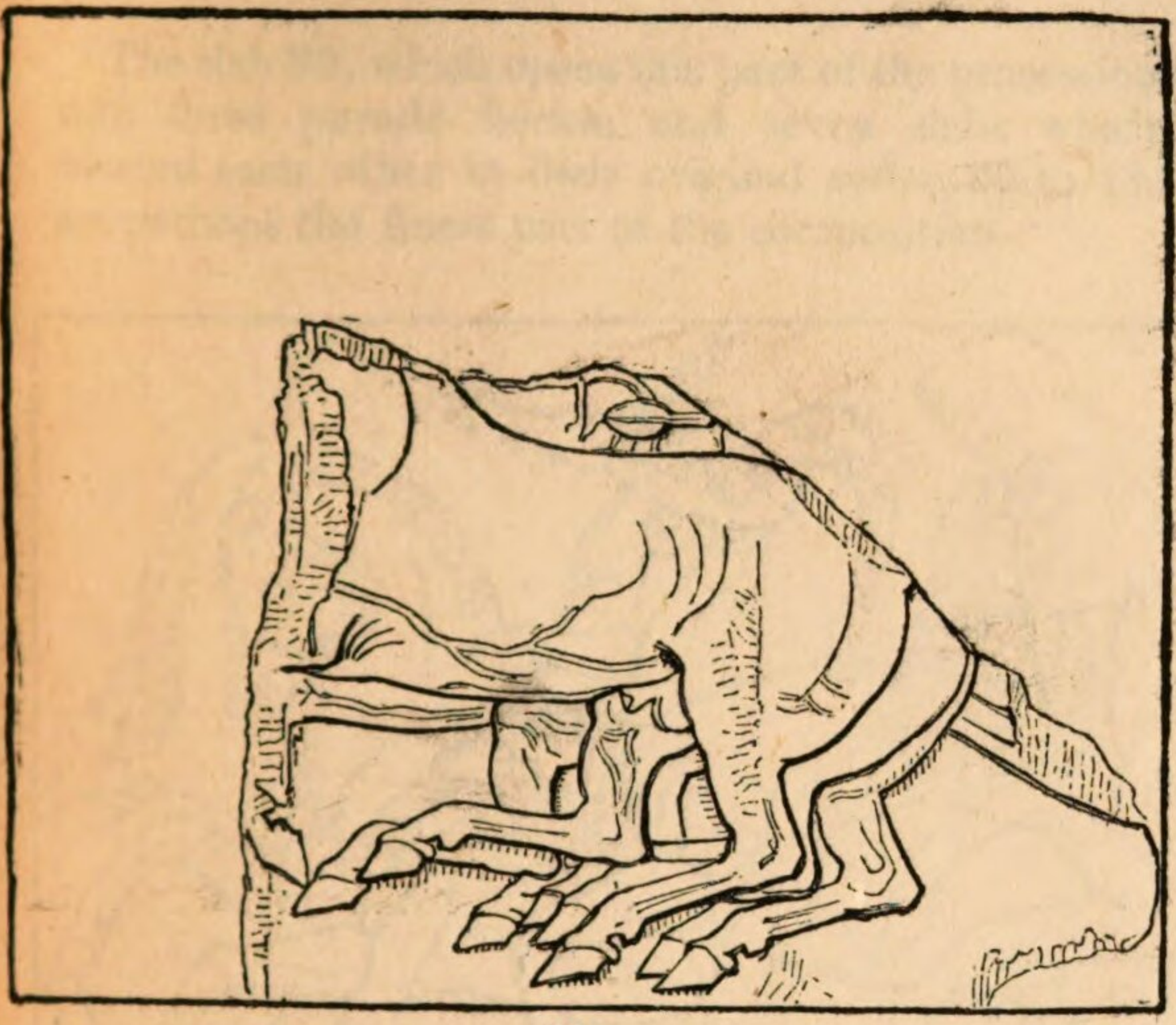
One of these, 29, is occupied by the fragment of a warrior in a helmet, bearing his shield upon his left arm.

29.

Visconti remarks that in all these slabs the different kinds of chariots in use are observable, the biga, triga,



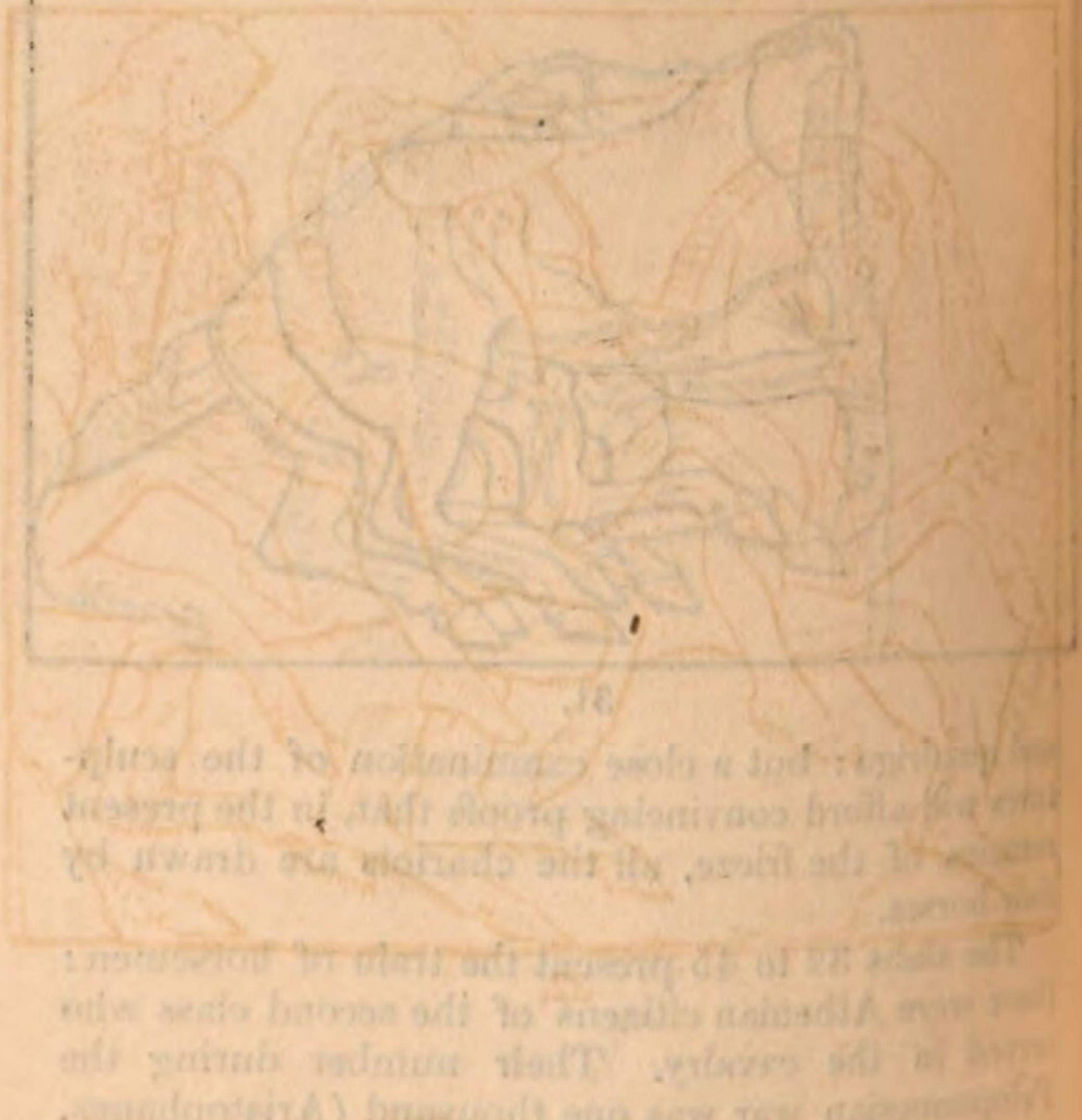
30.



31.

and quadriga: but a close examination of the sculptures will afford convincing proofs that, in the present remains of the frieze, all the chariots are drawn by four horses.

The slabs 32 to 45 present the train of horsemen: these were Athenian citizens of the second class who served in the cavalry. Their number during the Peloponnesian war was one thousand (Aristophanes, Knights, l. 225). In many of the Greek communities we find a kind of class distinguished by some name which has reference to the ability to maintain a horse or perhaps a couple; one for the rider and the other for his servant. The possession of such means would naturally give rise to a kind of military caste of an upper order; for where all citizens are bound to military service at their own expense, wealth will determine the rank and the armour of each individual.

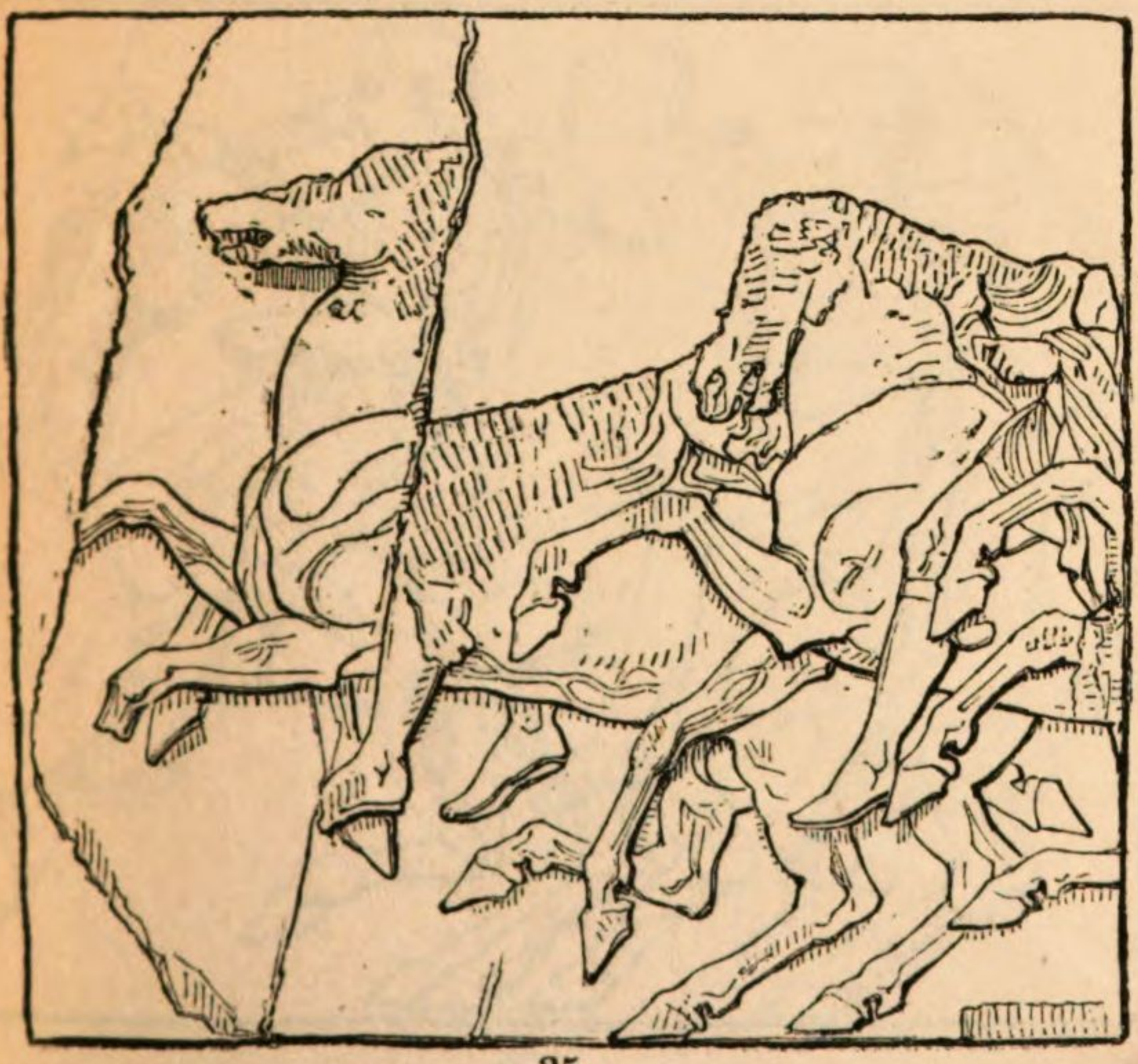


The slab 32, which opens this part of the procession with three parade horses, and seven slabs which succeed each other in their original order, 37 to 43, are perhaps the finest part of the composition.

32.

33.

34.



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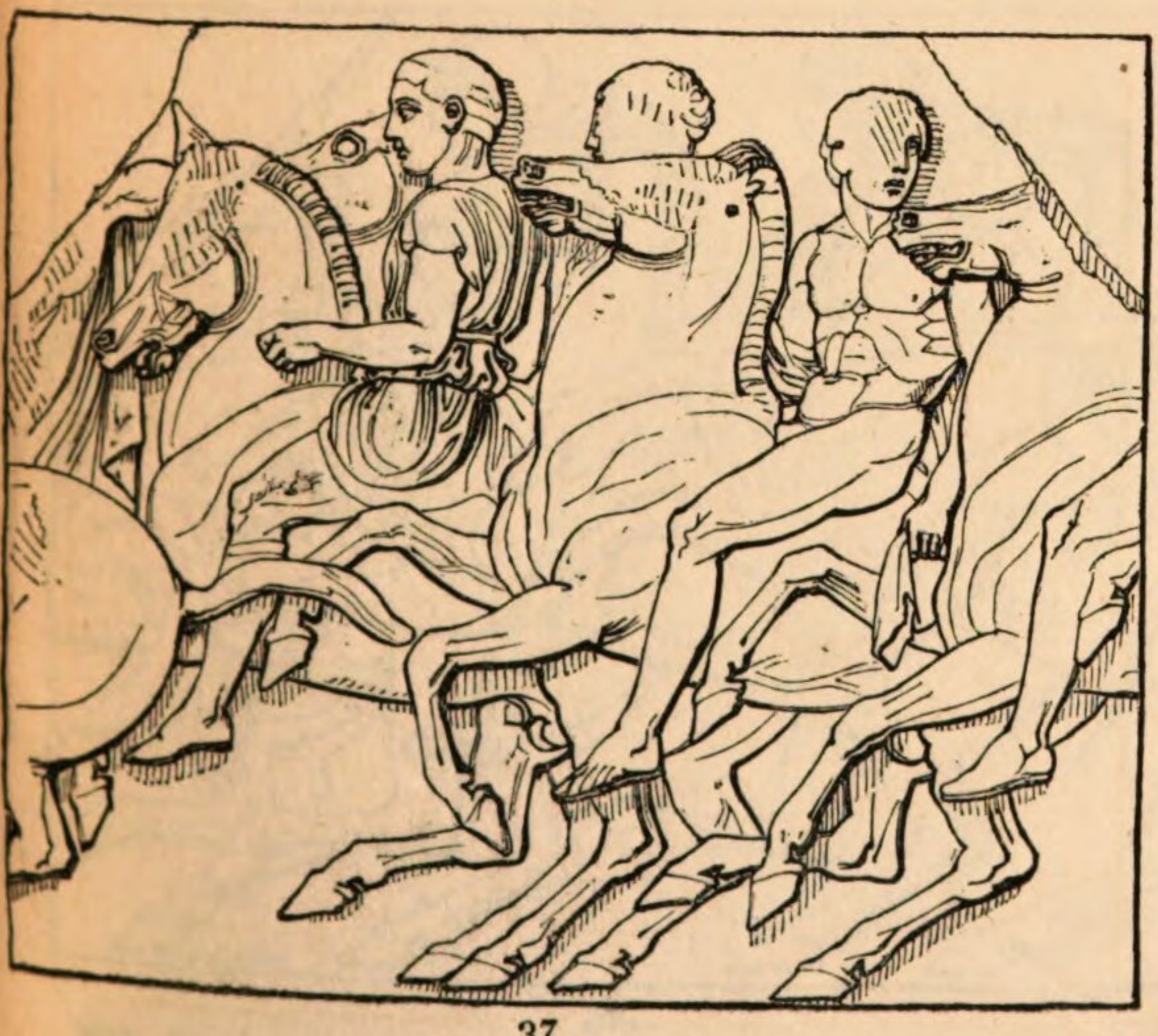

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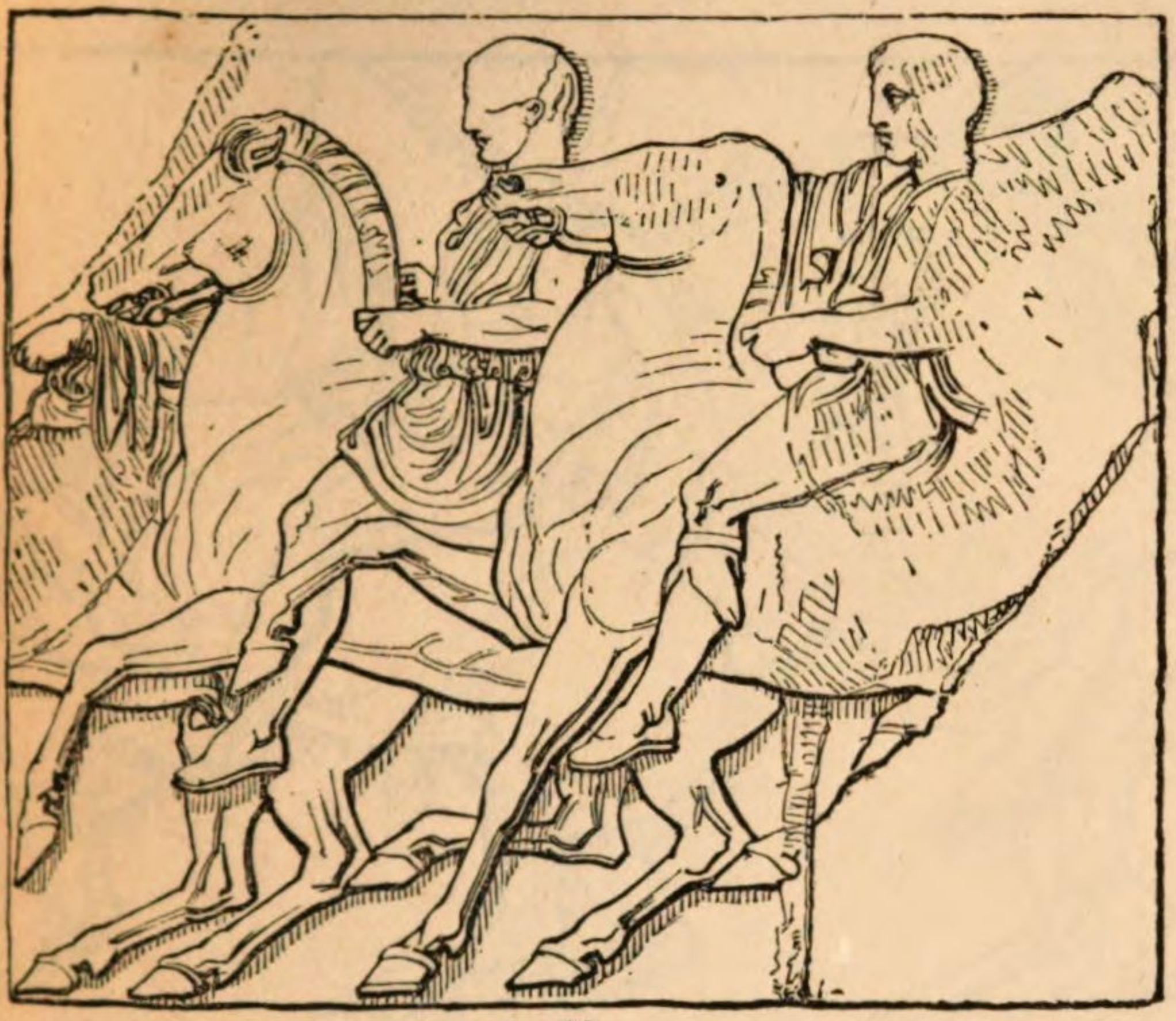

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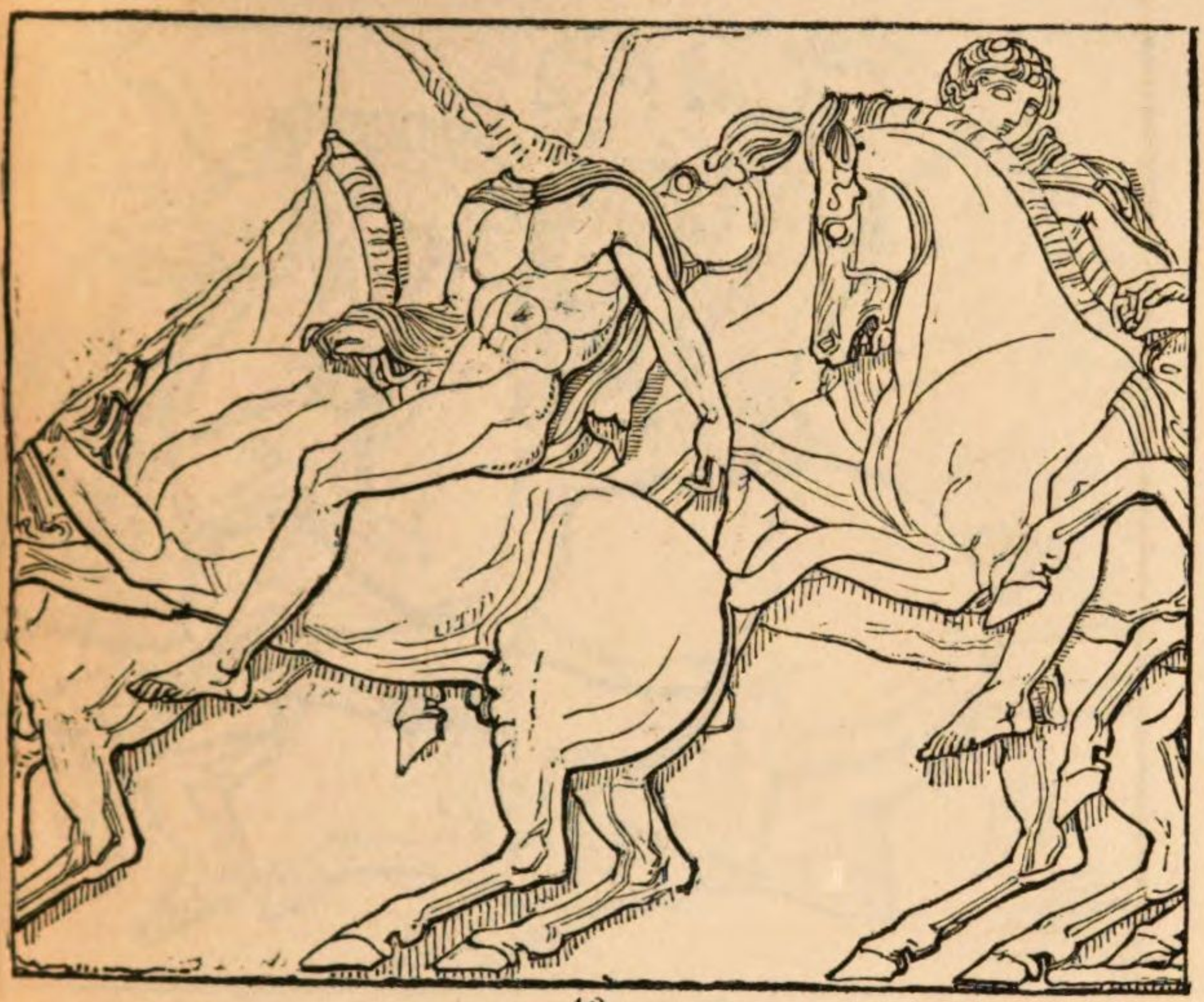

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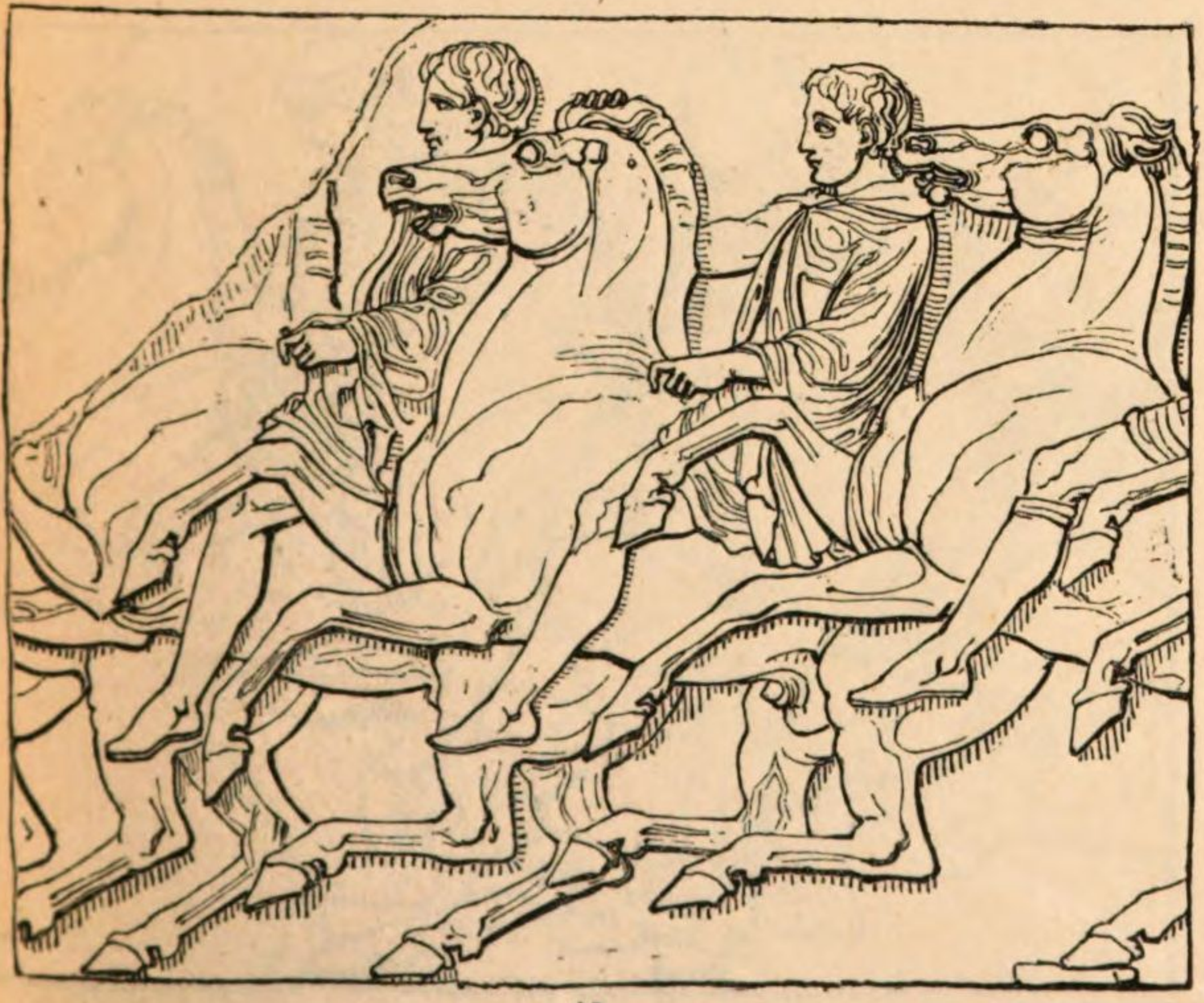

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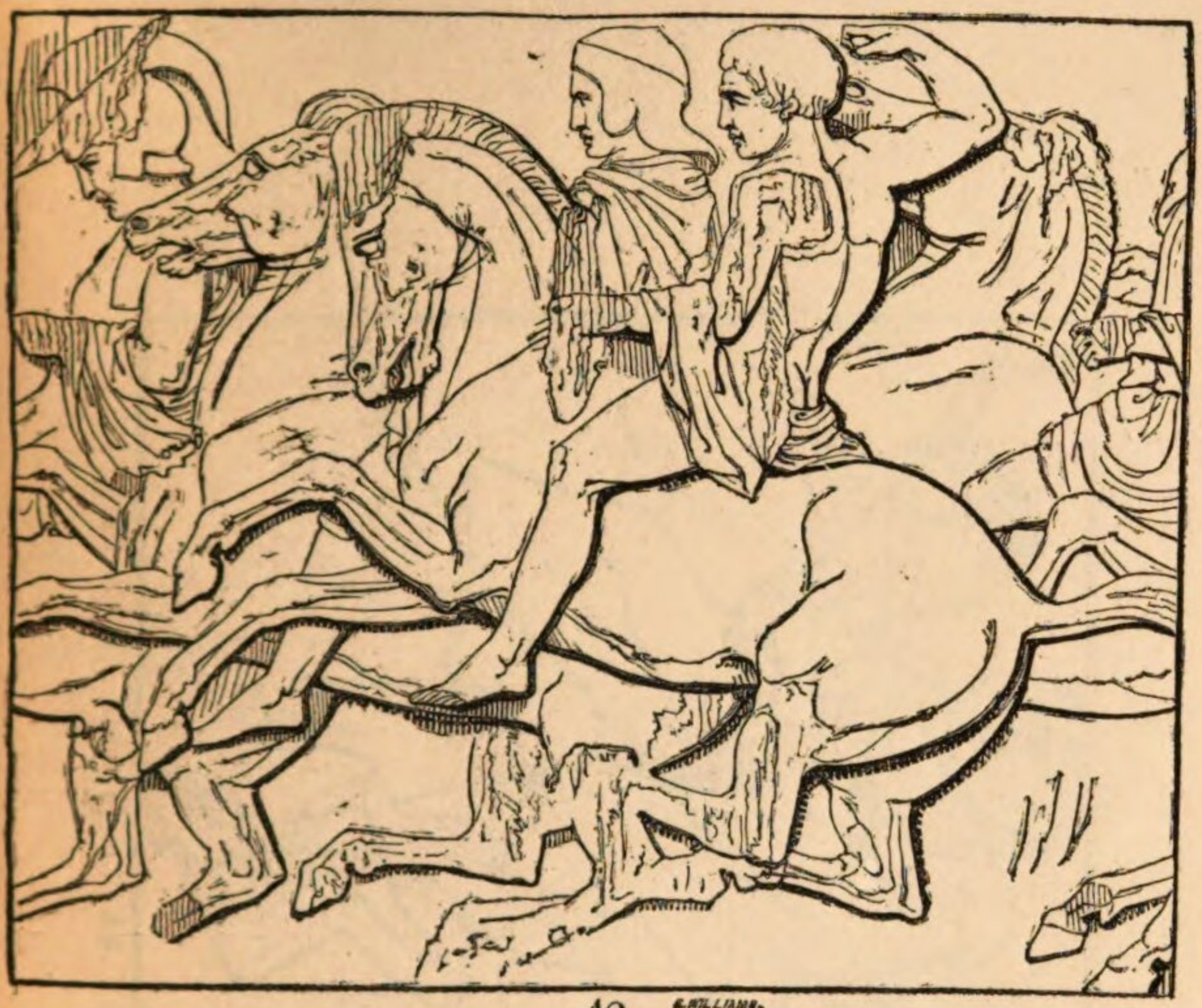
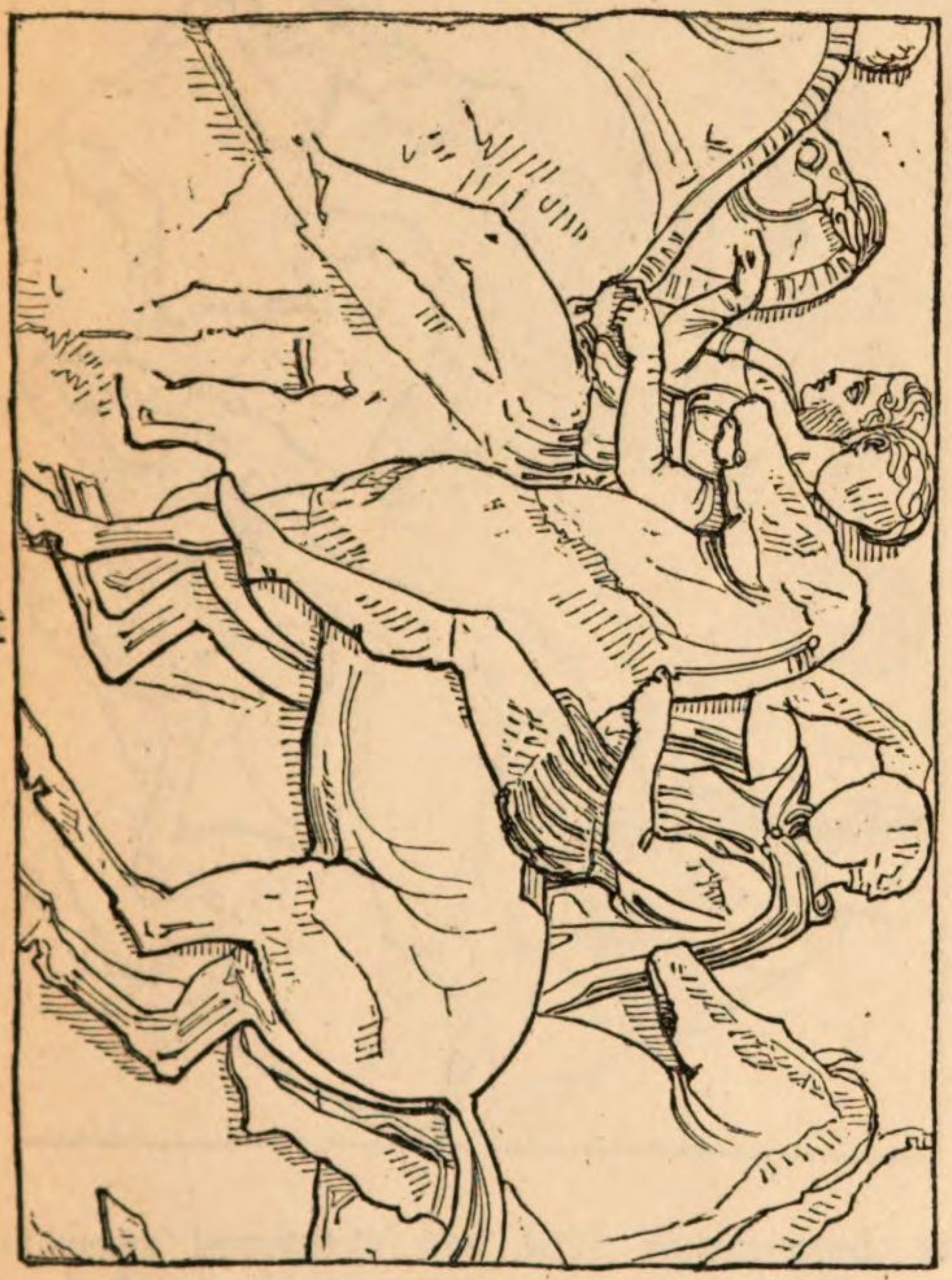


42. E. MILLIARD.

43.

x 3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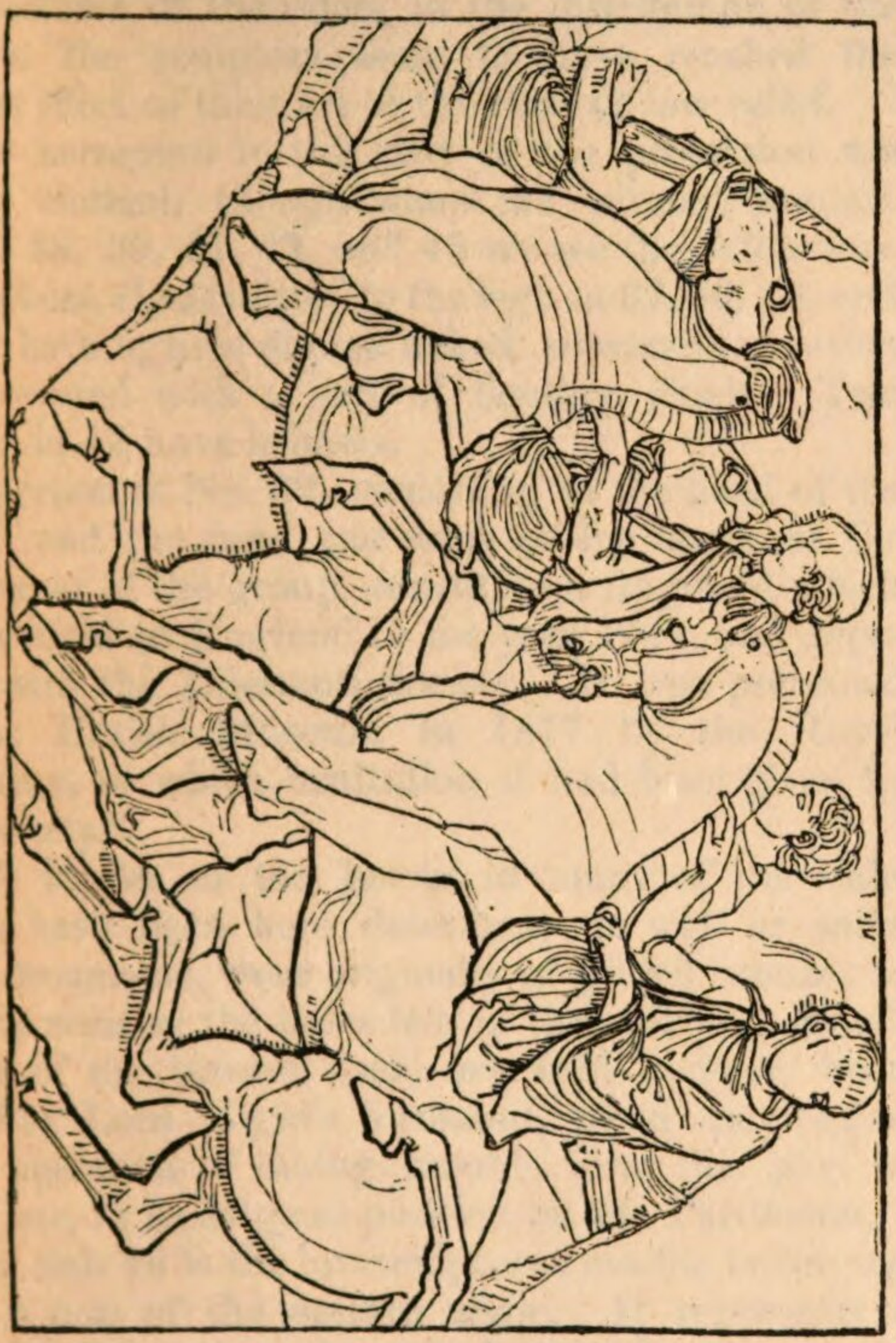
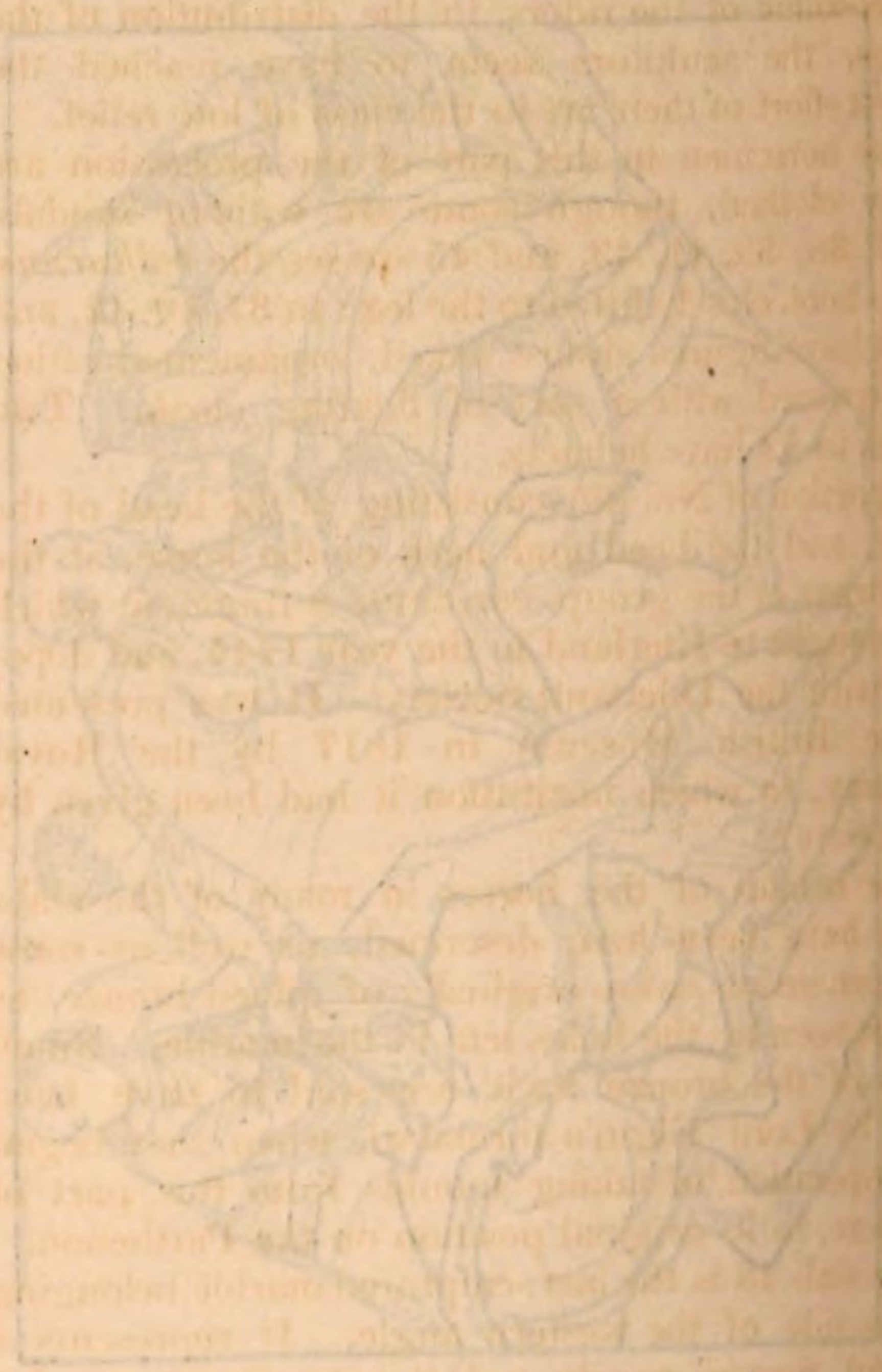


45.

Numerous horsemen are here represented advancing before each other, the nearer horse hiding the hinder parts of the preceding, and sometimes part of the rider, yet without any confusion of effect. In the forms and actions of the horses*, in the attitudes

* The horses' heads are generally large, and their necks thick; but this is a characteristic feature of the Grecian horses, particu-



and costume of the riders, in the distribution of the figures, the sculptors seem to have reached the highest effort of their art in the class of low relief.

The horsemen in this part of the procession are mostly clothed, though some are without sandals. In 37, 38, 39, 41, 43, and 45 we see the *cothurnus*, or top-boot, closely fitted to the leg: in 37, 40, 42, and 46 we have figures almost naked, ornamented rather than covered with a sort of floating cloak. Two figures in 42 have helmets.

A portion of No. 39, consisting of the head of the figure, and the head and neck of the horse, at the left corner of the group, constitute a fragment which was brought to England in the year 1744, and deposited with the Dilettanti Society. It was presented to the British Museum in 1817 by the Royal Academy, to which institution it had been given by the Society*.

The bridles of the horses in many of the slabs which have been here described, as well as some other ornaments, were originally of gilded bronze, as may be seen by the holes left in the marble. Small pieces of the bronze itself are said to have been found by Lord Elgin's formatori, when they began their operation of taking moulds from this part of the frieze, in its original position on the Parthenon.

The slab 46 is the last sculptured marble belonging to this side of the western angle. It represents a youthful figure, nearly naked, standing near his horse, and apparently placing a crown upon his head. Another, ready to mount, is attended by a young man, perhaps his groom, dressed like one of the Ephebi, in a simple chlamys, who is employed in

larly those of Thessaly, to this day. Dodwell's Travels, vol. i. p. 339.

* See Lawrence on the Elgin Marbles, fol. 1818.

tightening his belt, and in raising his tunic above the knee*. The figure sculptured at the end of this slab, seen obliquely in the engraving, belongs to that part of the procession which decorated the west end of the temple. It is repeated in plaster in the Elgin Room, that the whole of the Western Frieze may be seen by the spectator at one view.

WESTERN FRIEZE.

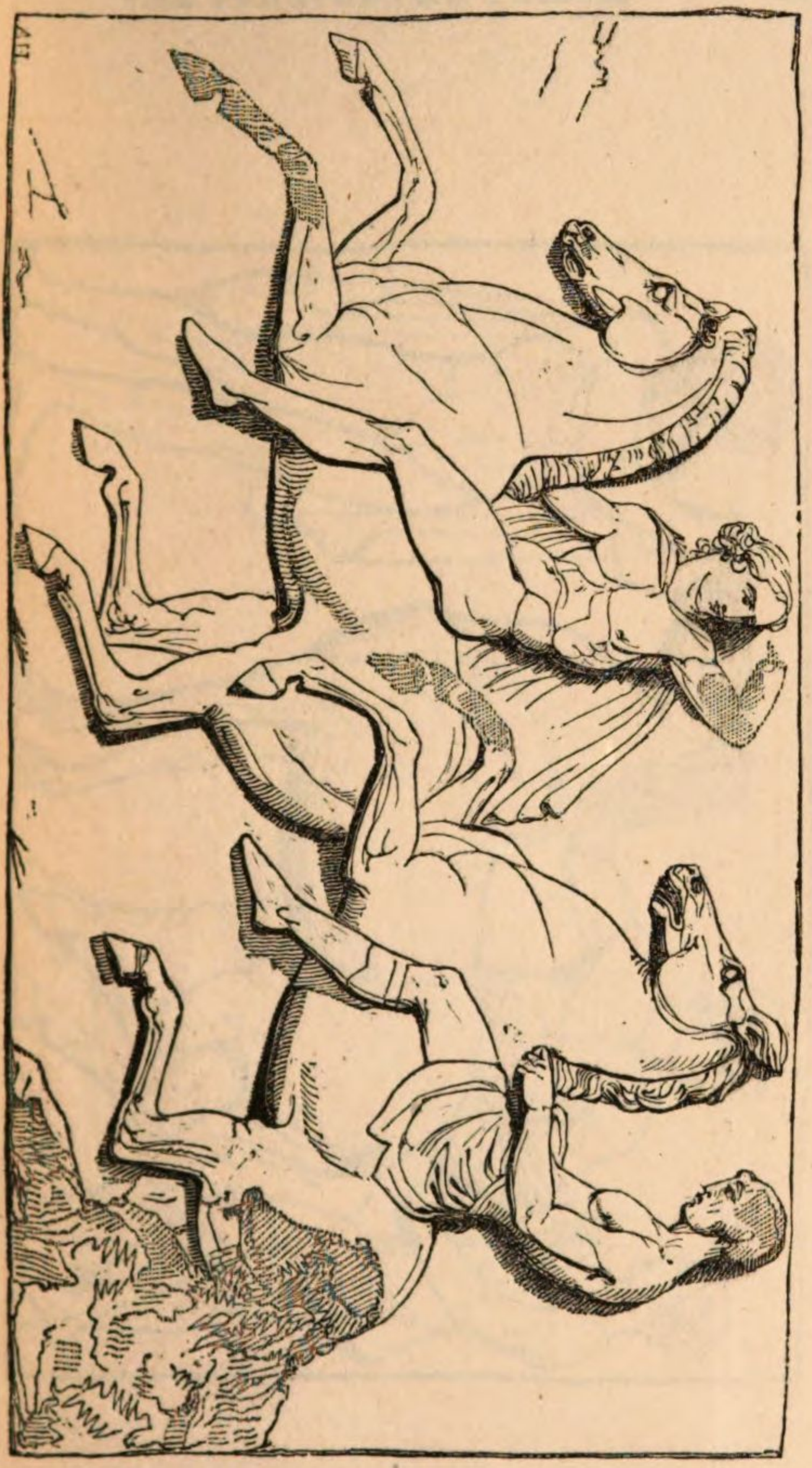
A single slab of this frieze is all which the Museum possesses in marble. Plaster casts of fourteen slabs which form the remainder of the western frieze, and are still attached to the temple, follow it, numbered 48 to 61 inclusive.

The western frieze extended over the front, and over the antæ of the opisthodomos, or back chamber. The direction of the figures is the same as that on the north side, namely, from right to left. There is a peculiarity, too, in the frieze of the west end which distinguishes it from that on the north and south sides of the temple. The subjects represented on the slabs of those two sides run one into another; that is, what was left imperfect in one slab is completed in the next; whereas in the west end the subjects are nearly complete on each piece of marble. The western frieze is likewise distinguished from those of the two sides of the temple by the comparatively few figures introduced into it†.

* Visconti's Memoir on the Sculptures of the Parthenon, 8vo. 1816, p. 82.

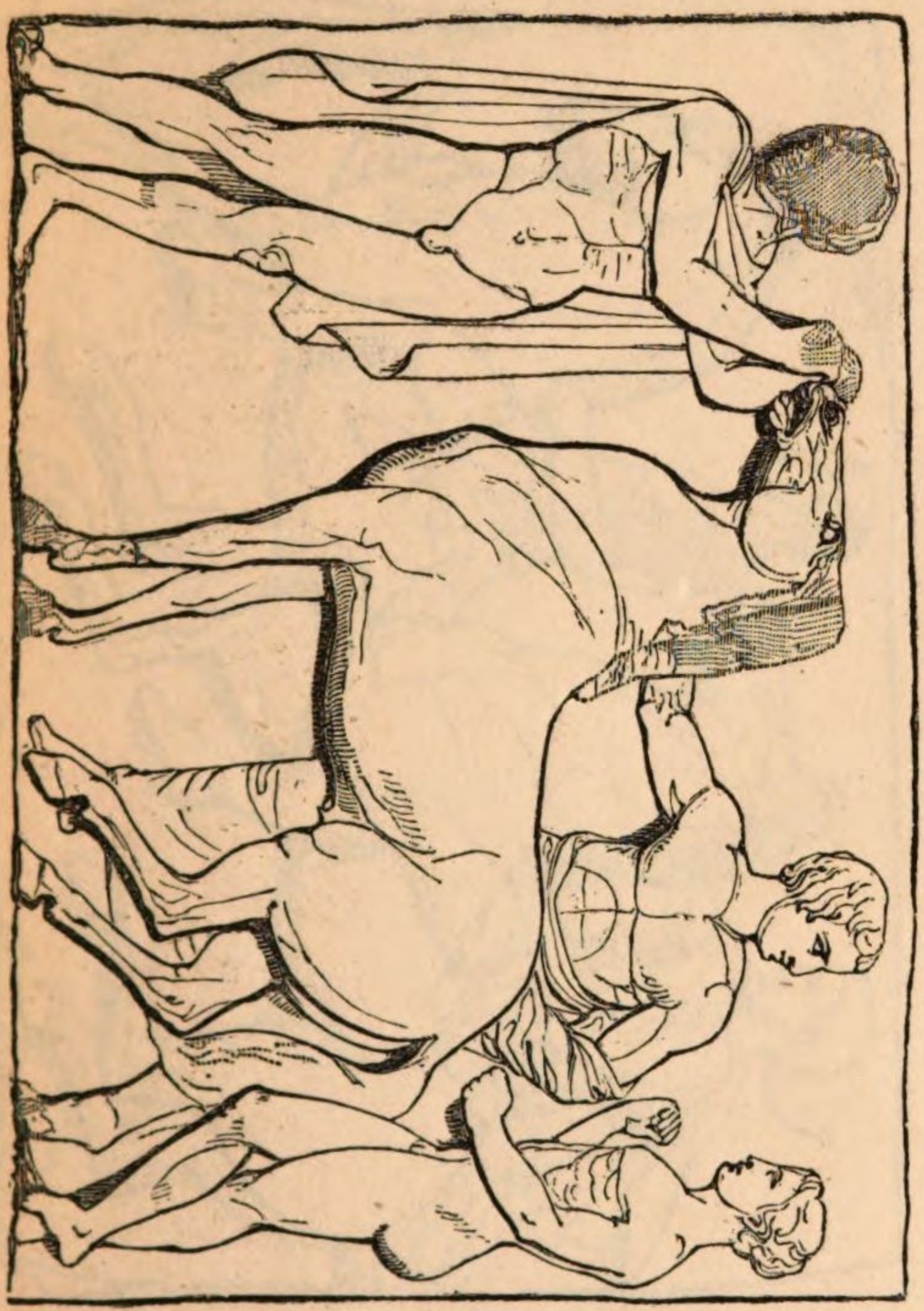
† Synopsis of the Contents of the British Museum, edit. 1833, p. 185.

46.

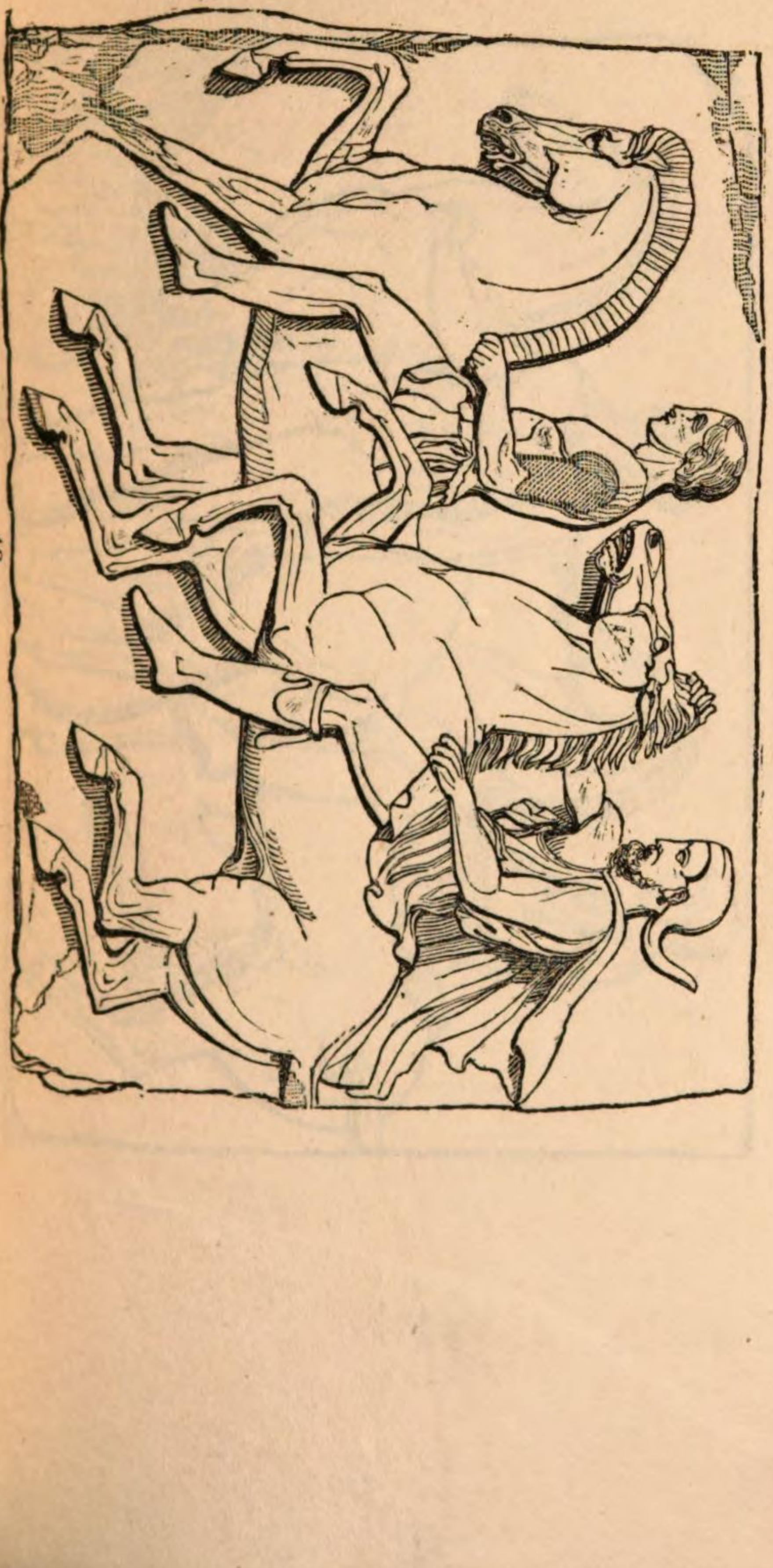


The single slab No. 47, already mentioned, represents two horsemen, one of whom is riding before the other, and seems to be in the act of urging his companion, who is armed with a cuirass. This slab is one of exquisite beauty.

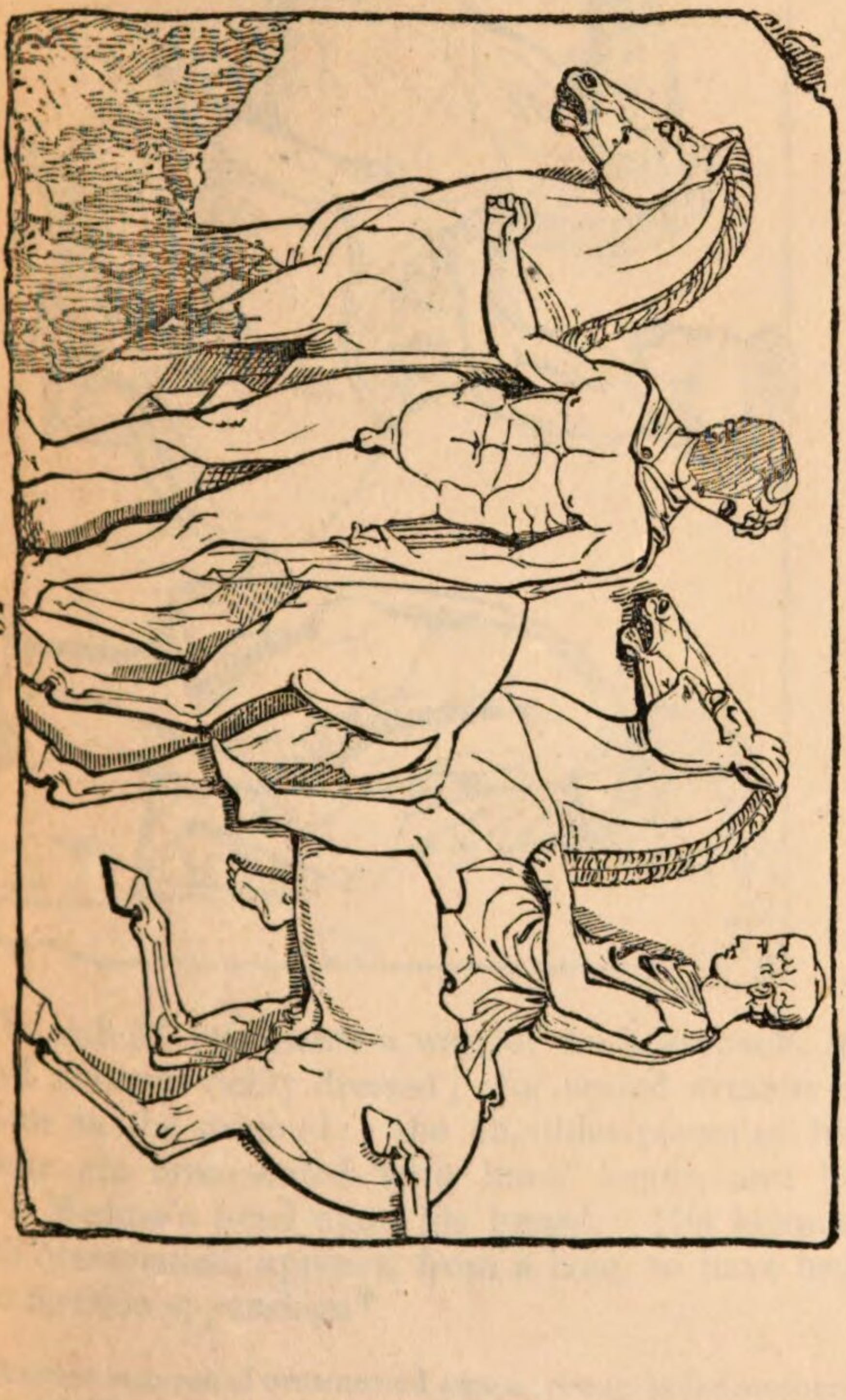
[The foremost of the horses in the above cut has suffered in his flank more than appears in the drawing.]



48.



49.

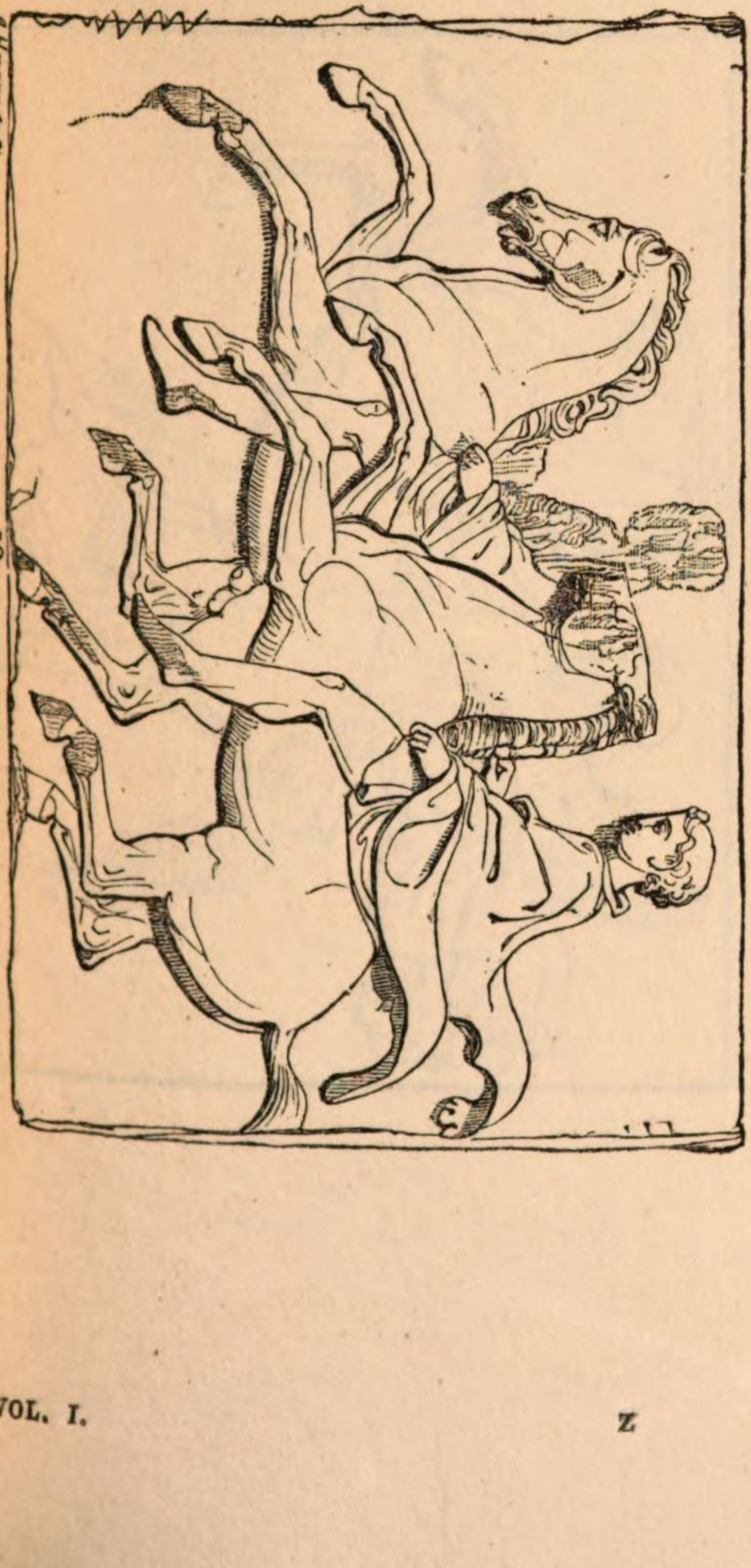


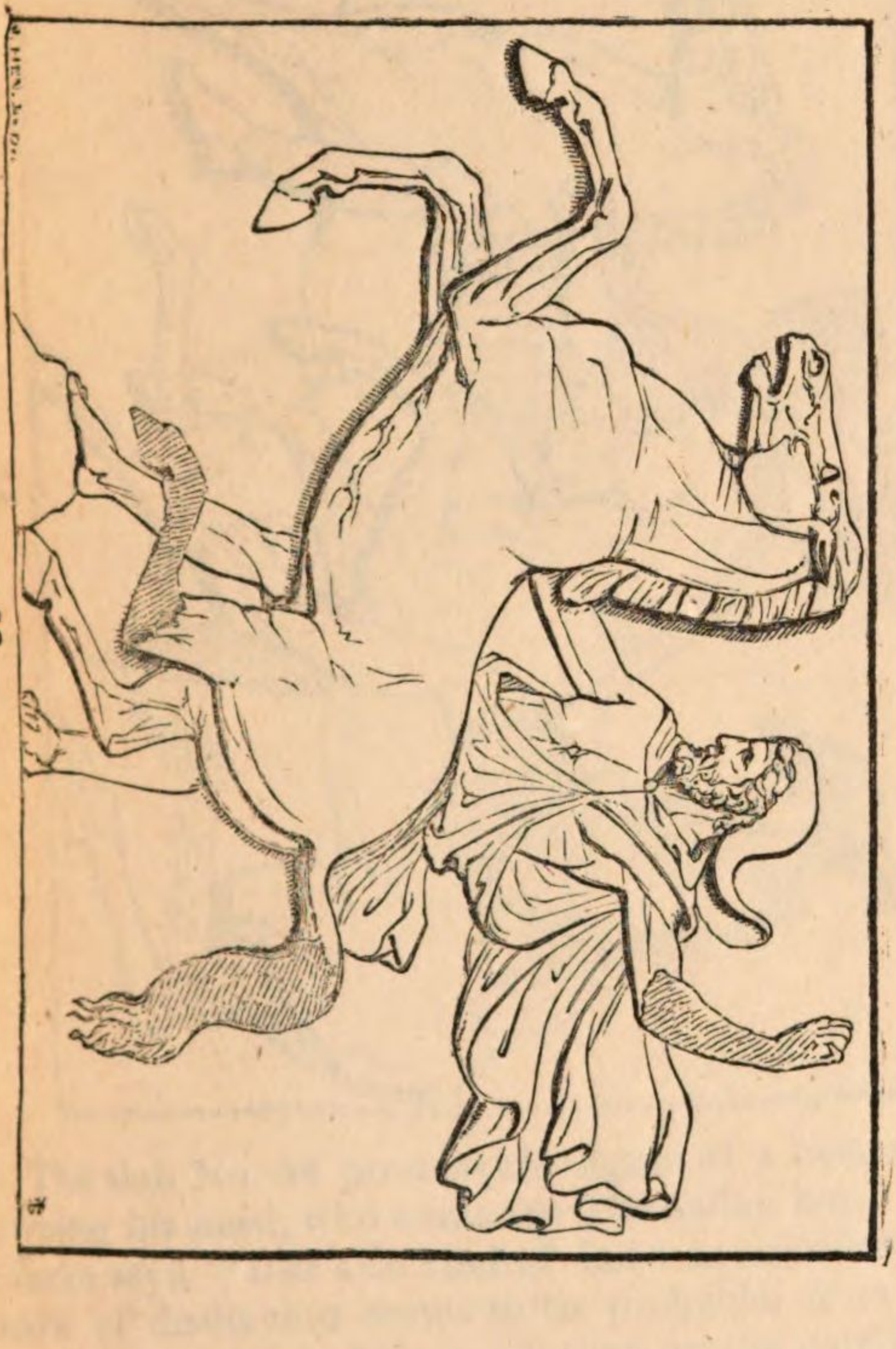
50.

51.

The slab 51 represents a warrior on horseback, in scaled armour, richly dressed; the scaled armour is obvious in the original: the shoulder-pieces of his armour are ornamented with lions' heads, and he has a Medusa's head upon his breast. His helmet, much ornamented, appears, from a hole, to have had some metallic appendage*.

* Another instance of ornamented armour occurs in the southern frieze, slab 73; with this difference, that the warrior is without a helmet.


52.



53.

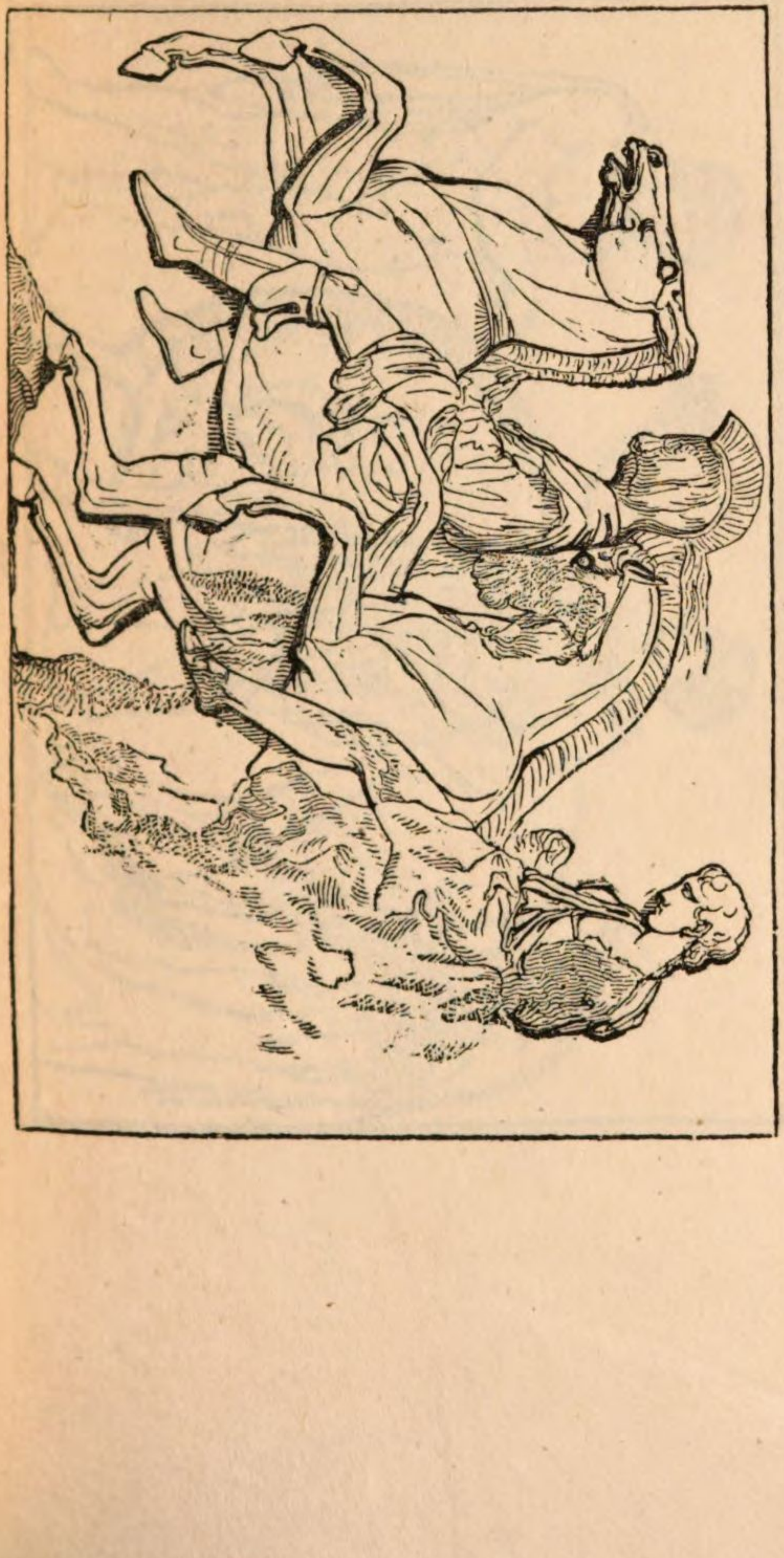
54.

The slab No. 54 presents the figure of a horseman curbing his steed, who wears the Thessalian hat. Dr. Clarke says, "that this kind of hat was considered a mark of distinction seems to be probable, from the circumstance of its being still worn by the patriarchs of the Greek church*."

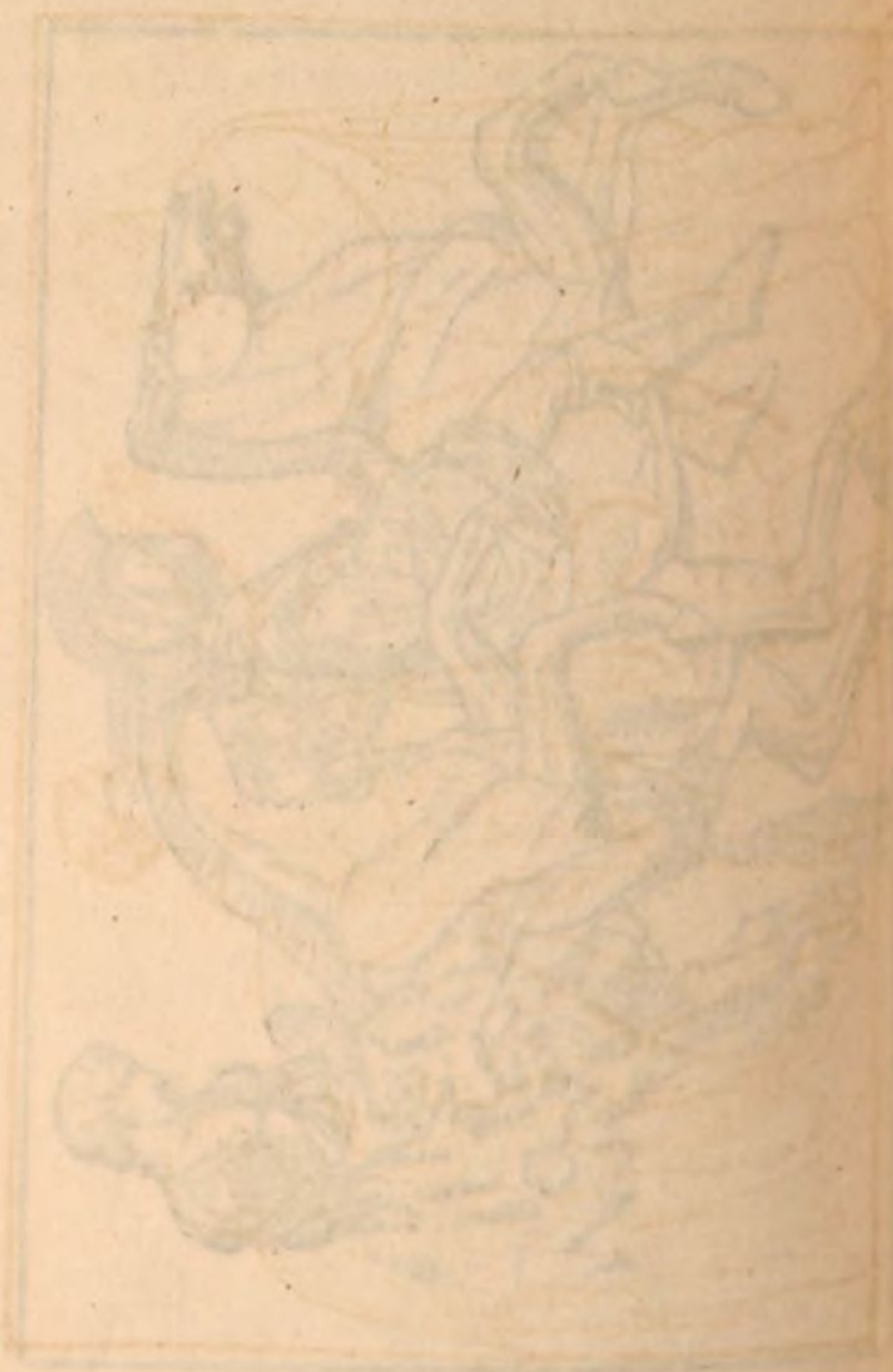
* Travels, 8vo. edit. 1818, vol. vi. p. 237. Col. Leake quotes a passage in Philostratus, from which he thinks it probable that the Athenians called this an ARCADIAN hat: ἐπέστη ὁ Ἡρώδης Ἀρκάδι πίλῳ τὴν κεφαλὴν σκιαζών ὡς ἐν ὥρᾳ θέρους εἰώθει Ἀθήνησιν. Philostr. in Herod. Leake, Topogr. of Athens, p. 223.

The procession of the horsemen in this frieze is not in any order, nor do they make that crowded appearance which distinguishes the cavalry of the Northern Frieze. The slabs toward the close seem to represent the last comers to the procession. Some are represented drawing on their buskins, others are adjusting their bridles, some are preparing to mount their horses, and others are contending with them in their endeavour to escape.

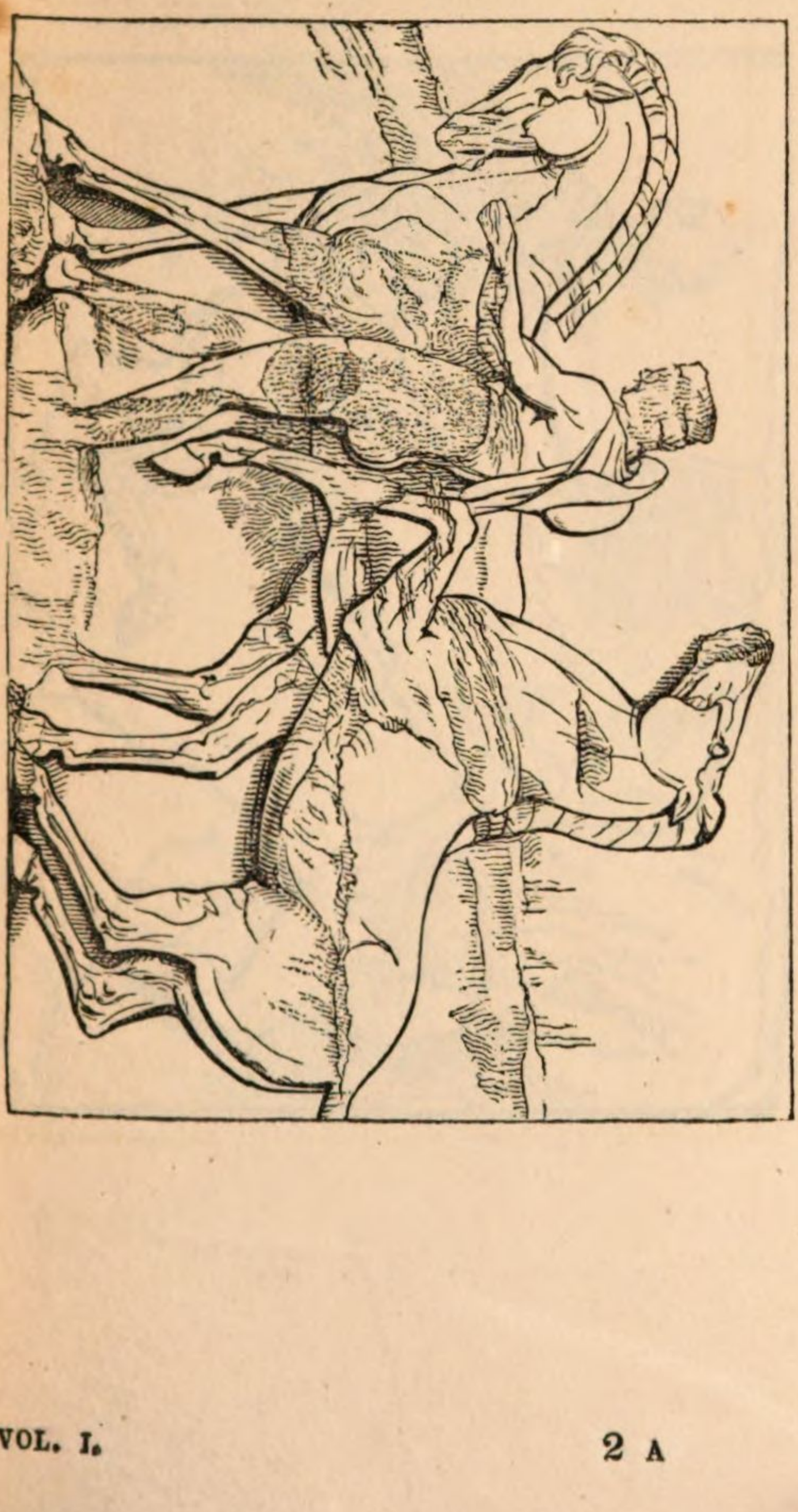
55.



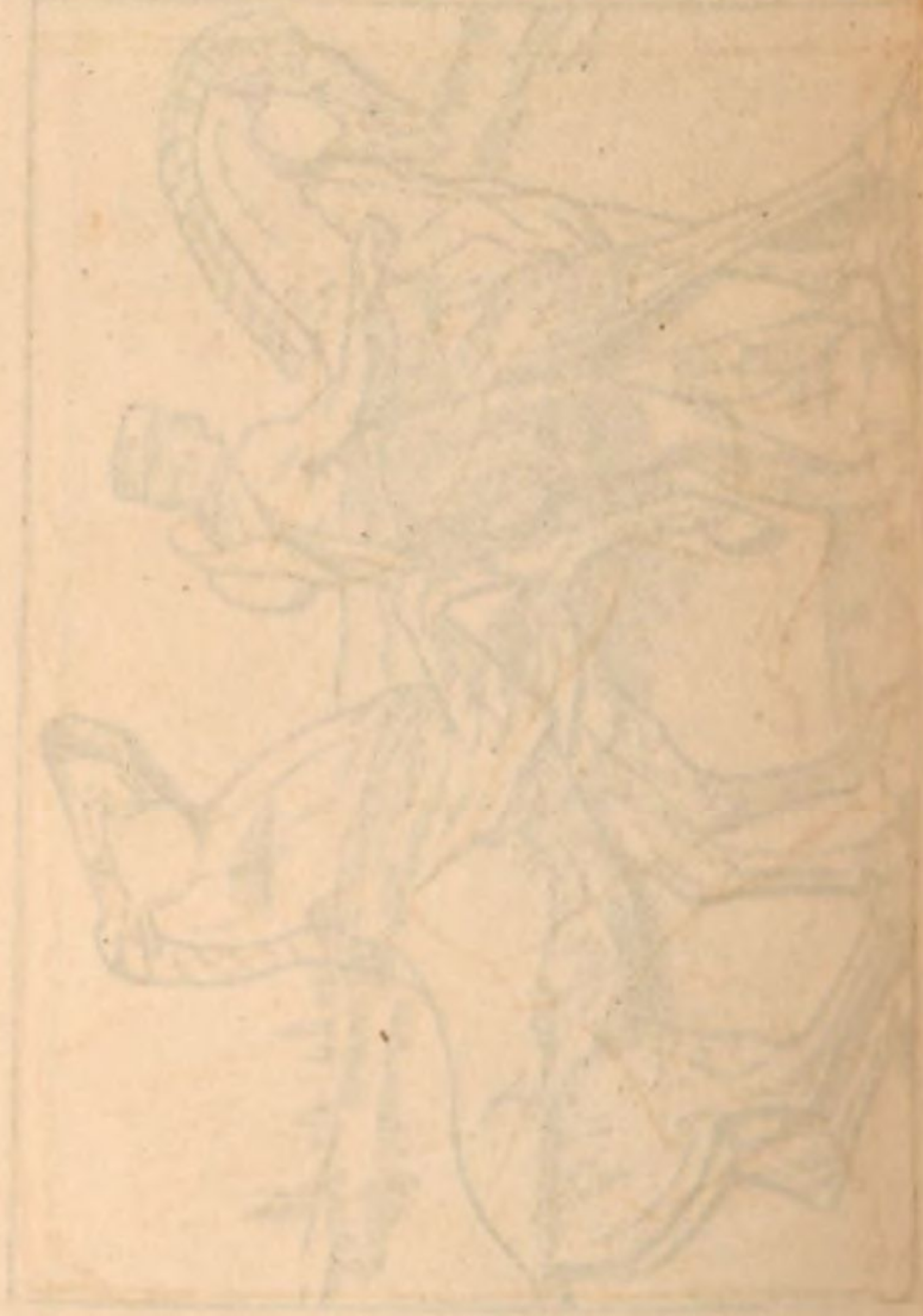
56.

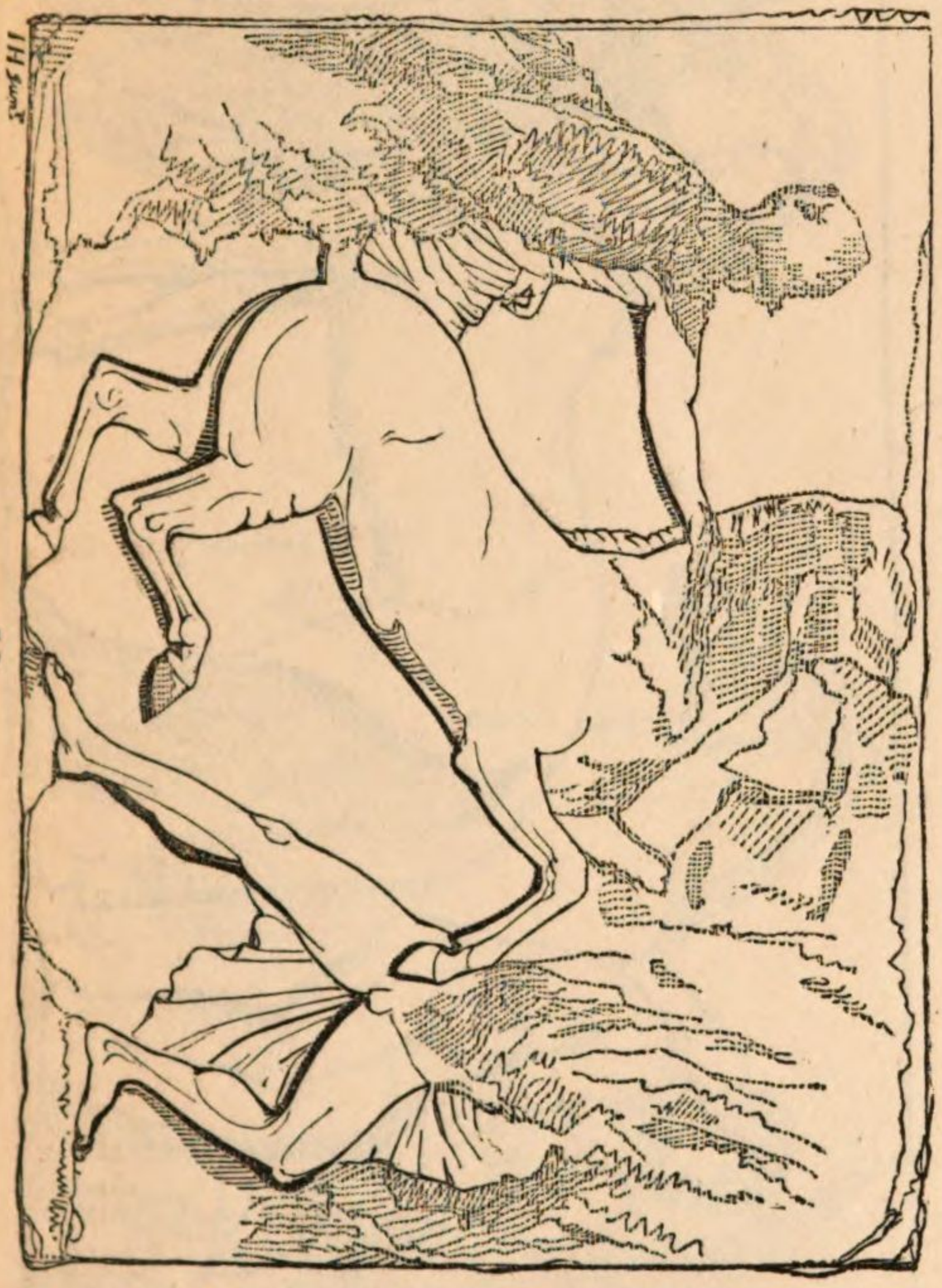


57.



58.





59.

60.

61.

SOUTHERN FRIEZE.

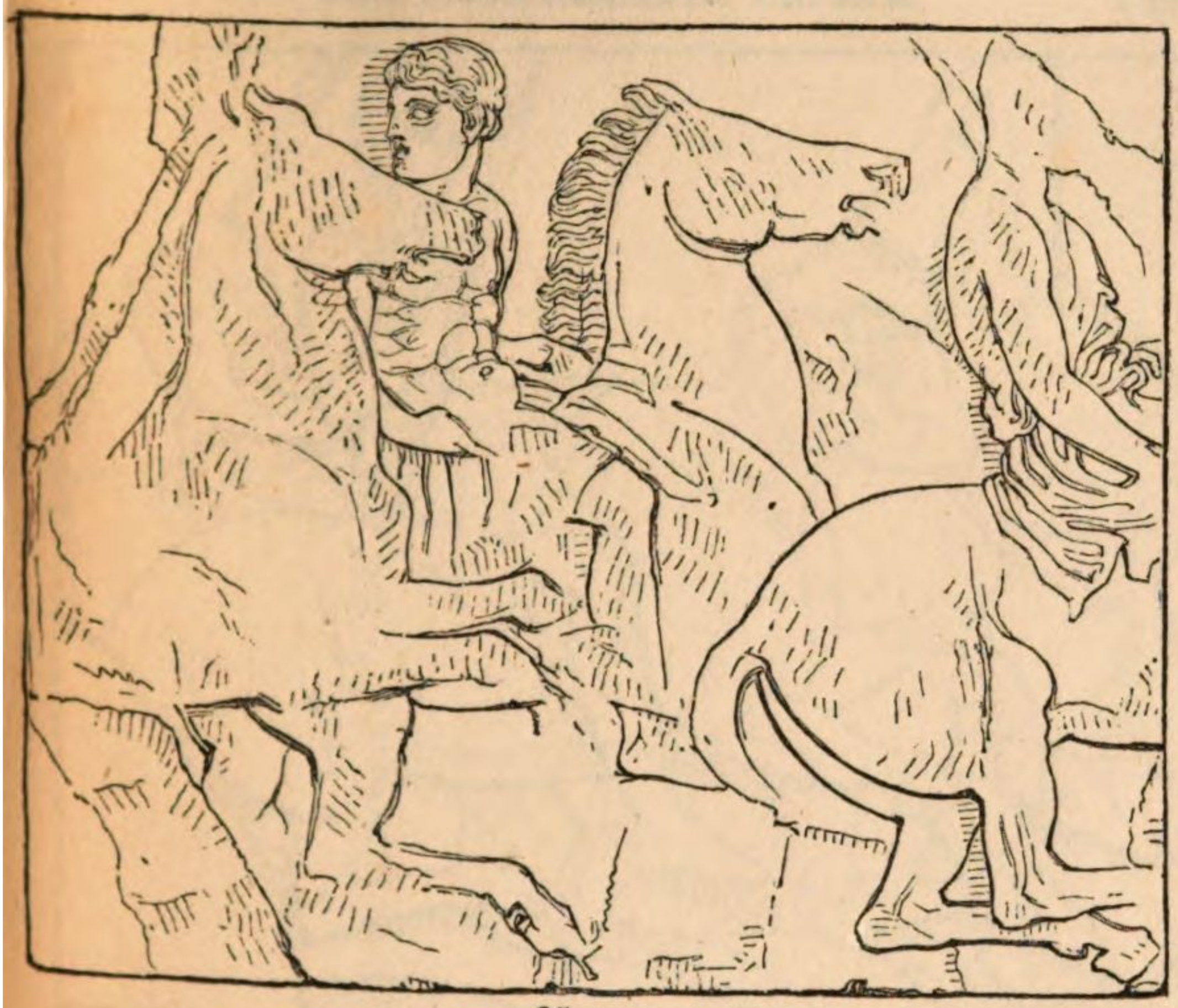
We now come to that portion of the frieze which enriched the southern side of the temple. The direction of the figures which form it is from left to right, and the numbers being in continuity from the western frieze begin with the end of the procession, and extend from 62 to 90, round to the door of entrance into the Elgin room.

The slabs 62* to 77 represent horsemen. The cothurnus or boot is repeated in 62, 66, 70, 71, 73, 74, 75, and 77. Helmets are seen in 62 and 74.

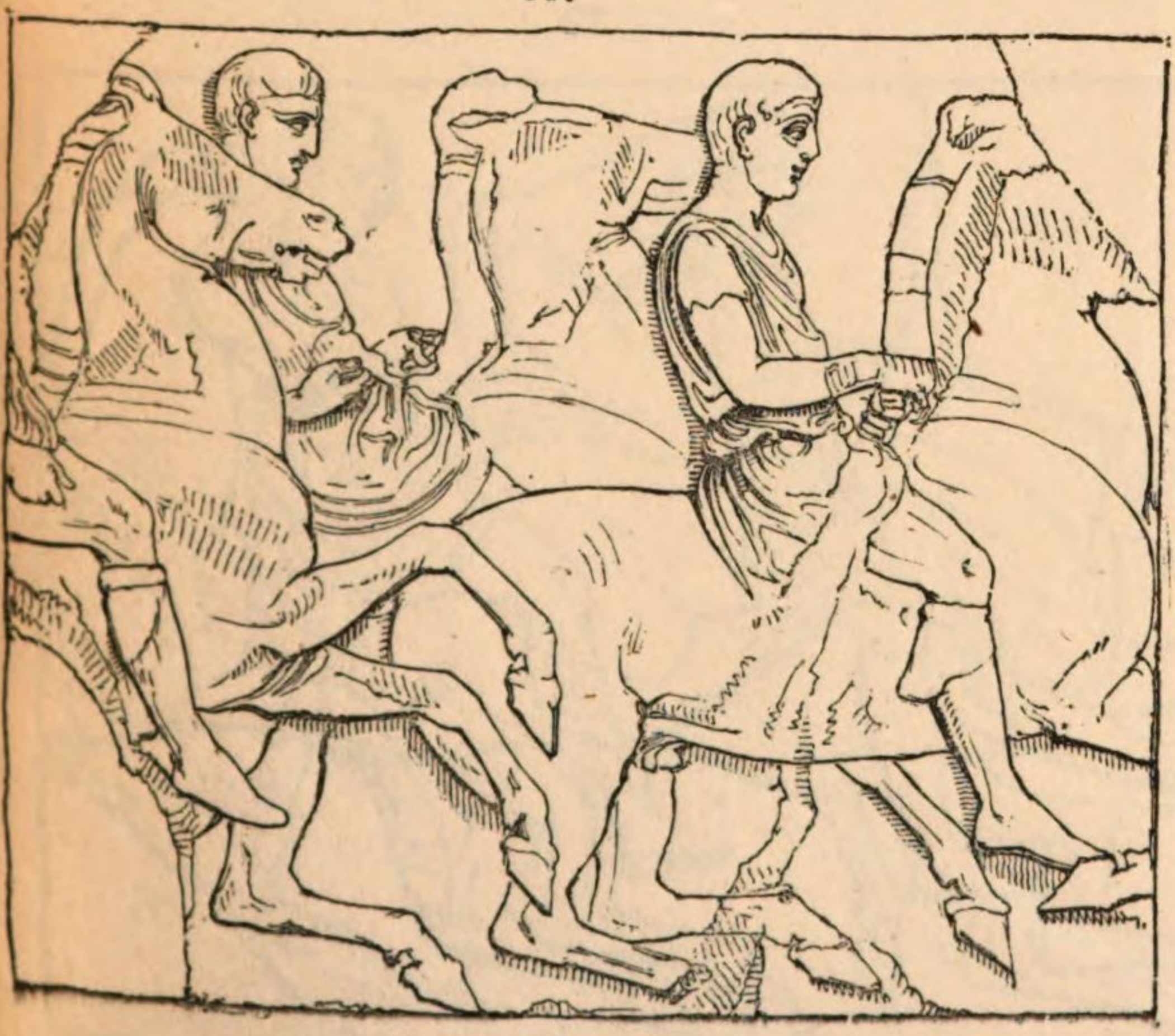
* No. 62 was presented to the Museum by C. R. Cockerell, Esq.

62.

63.



65.



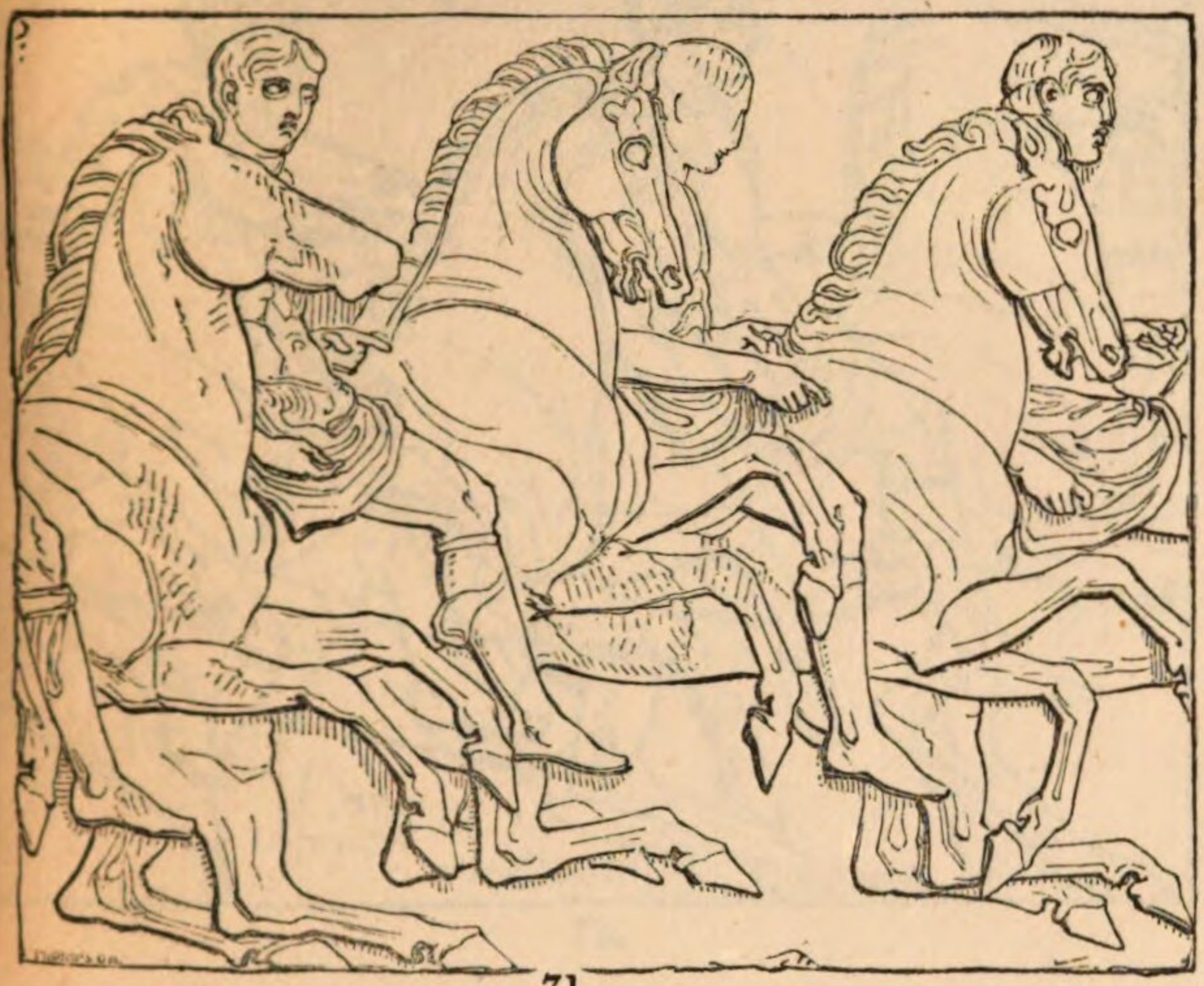
66.

67.

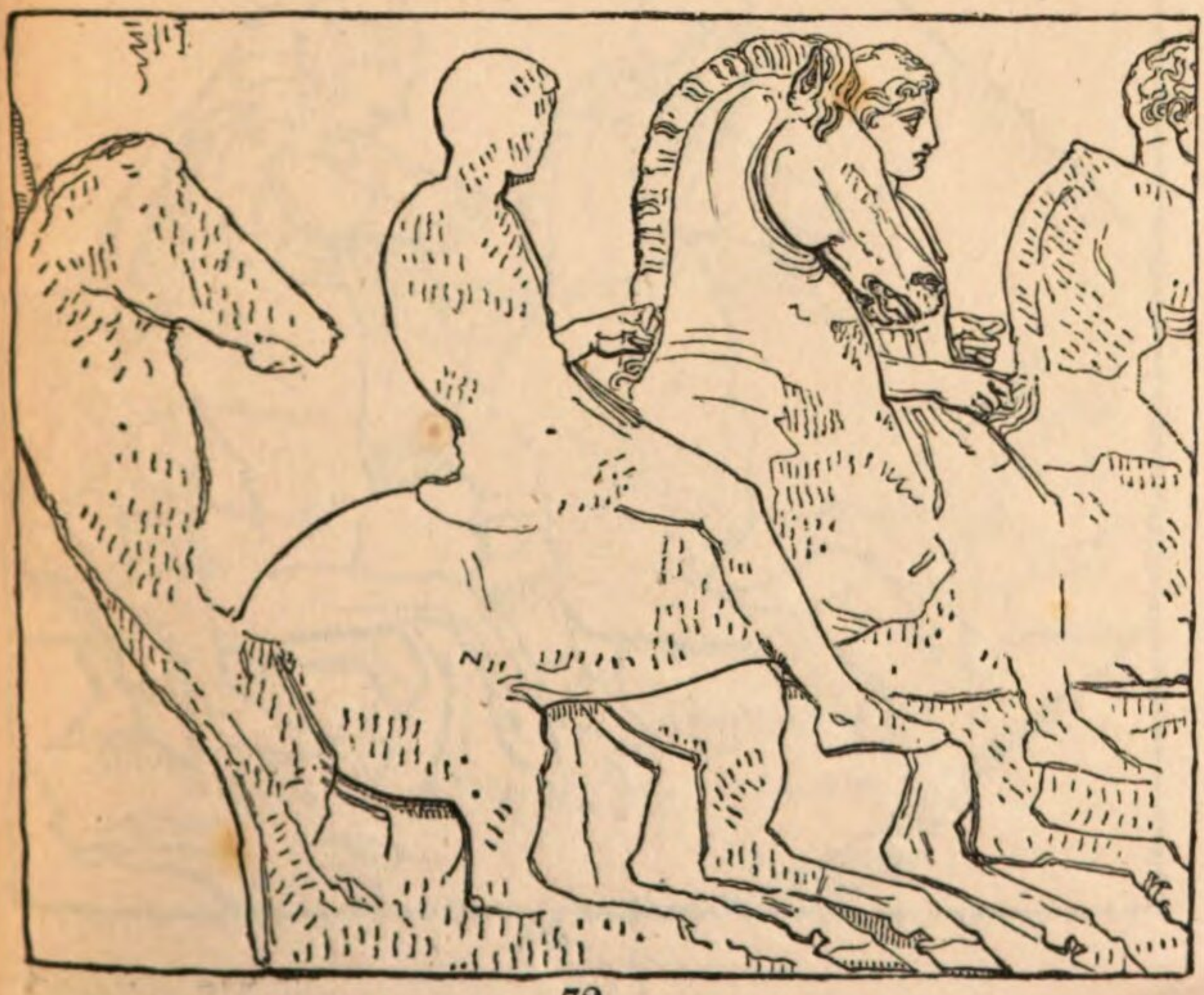
68.

69.

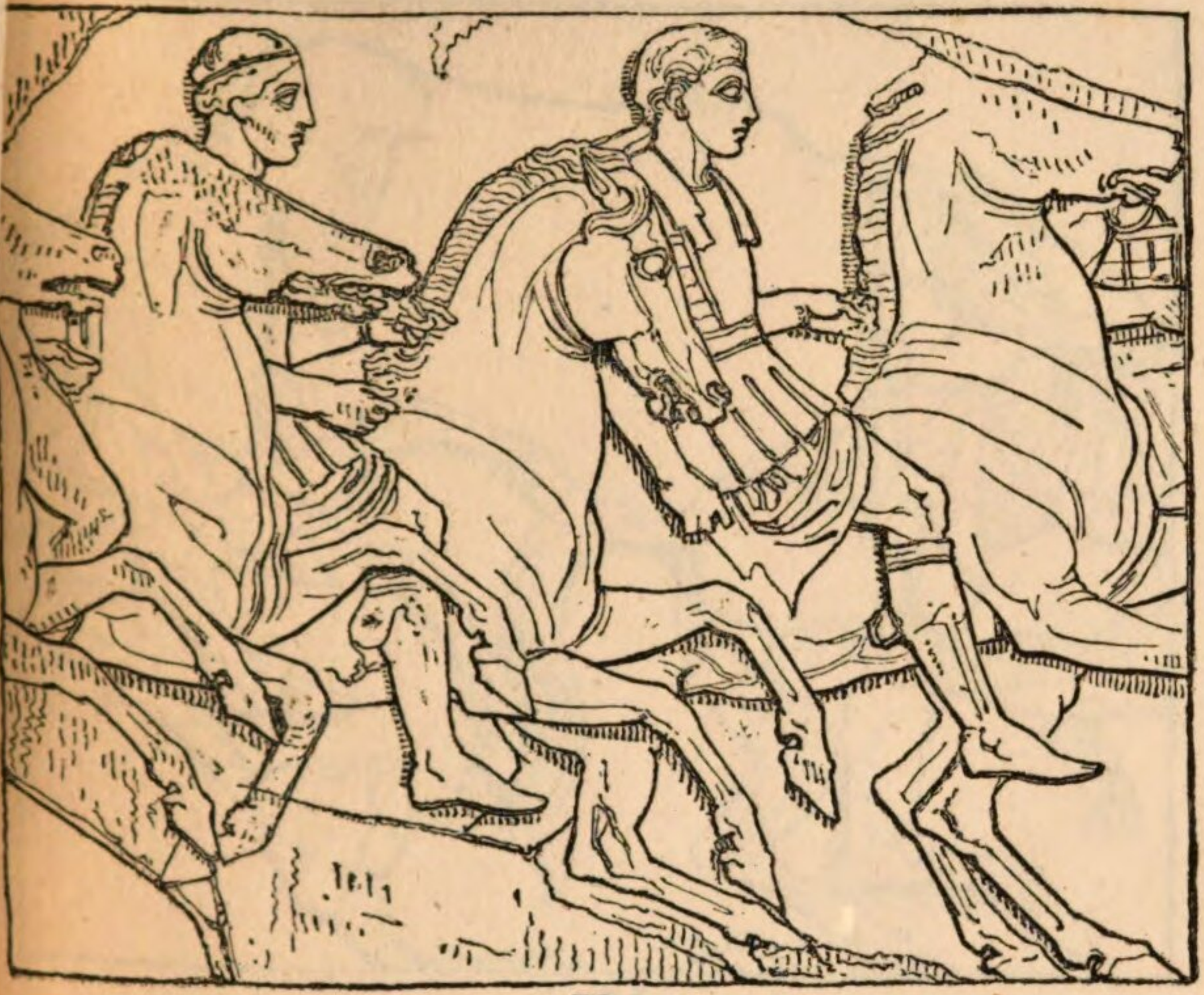
70.



71.

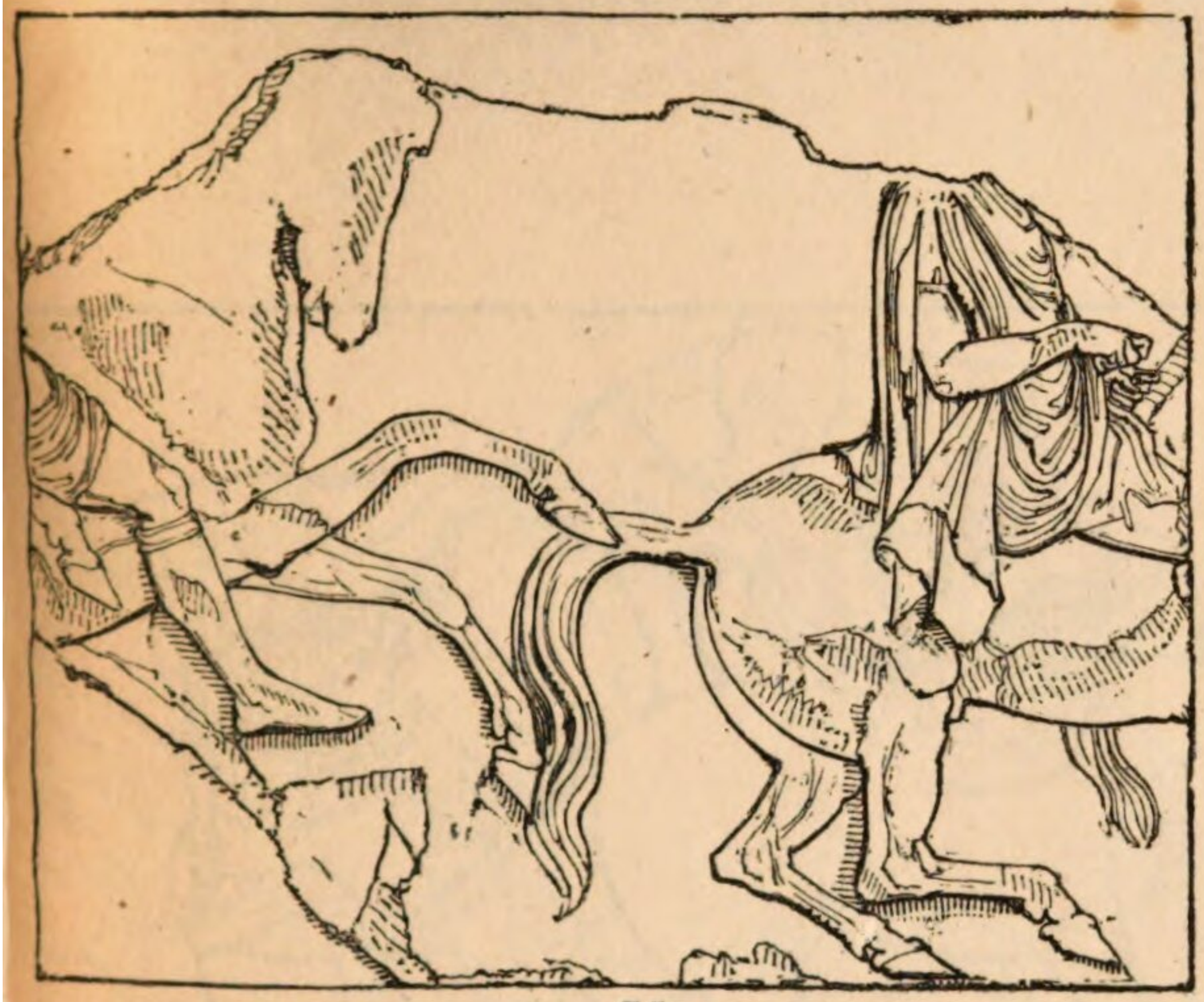


72.

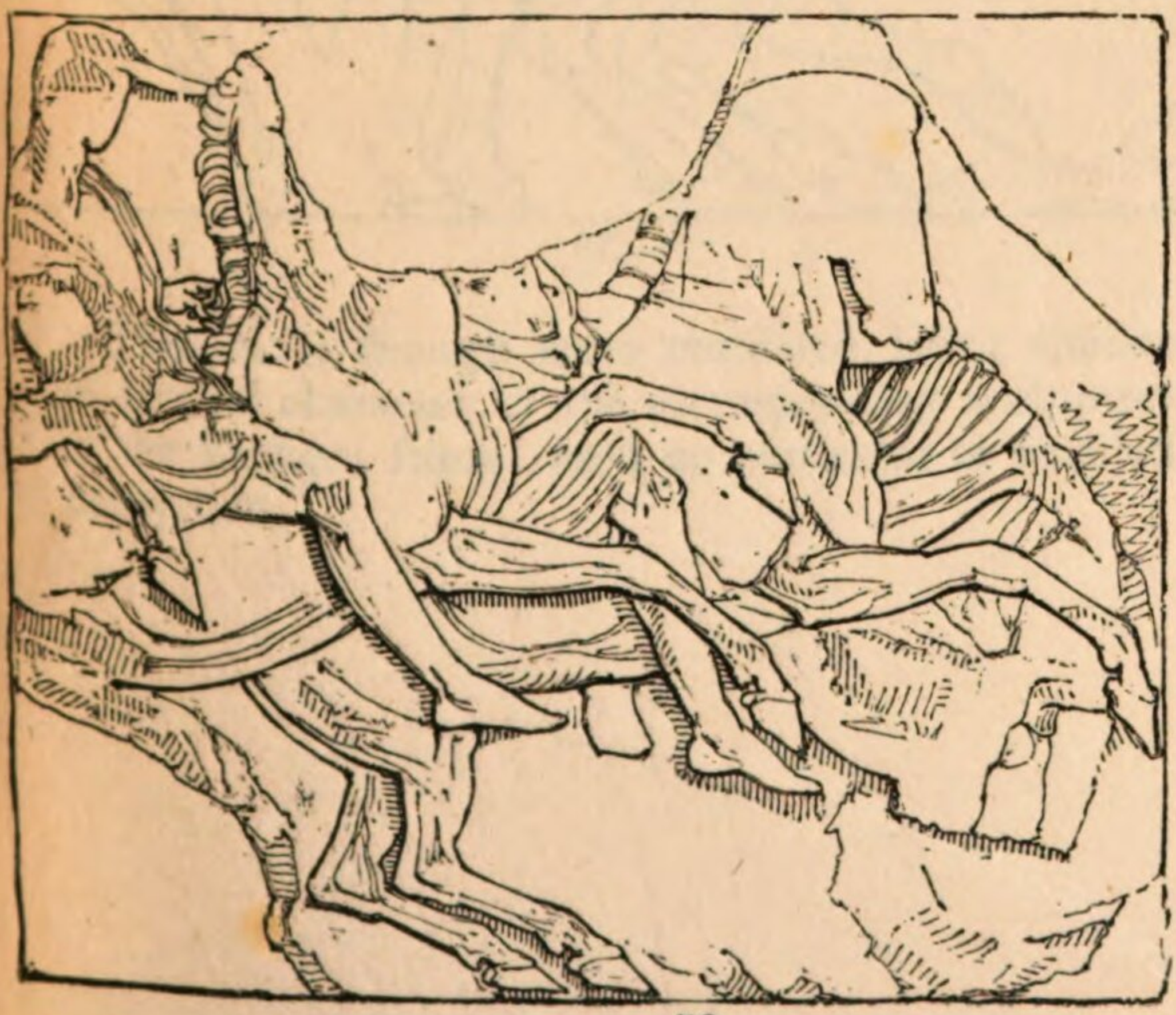


73.

74.



7.5



76

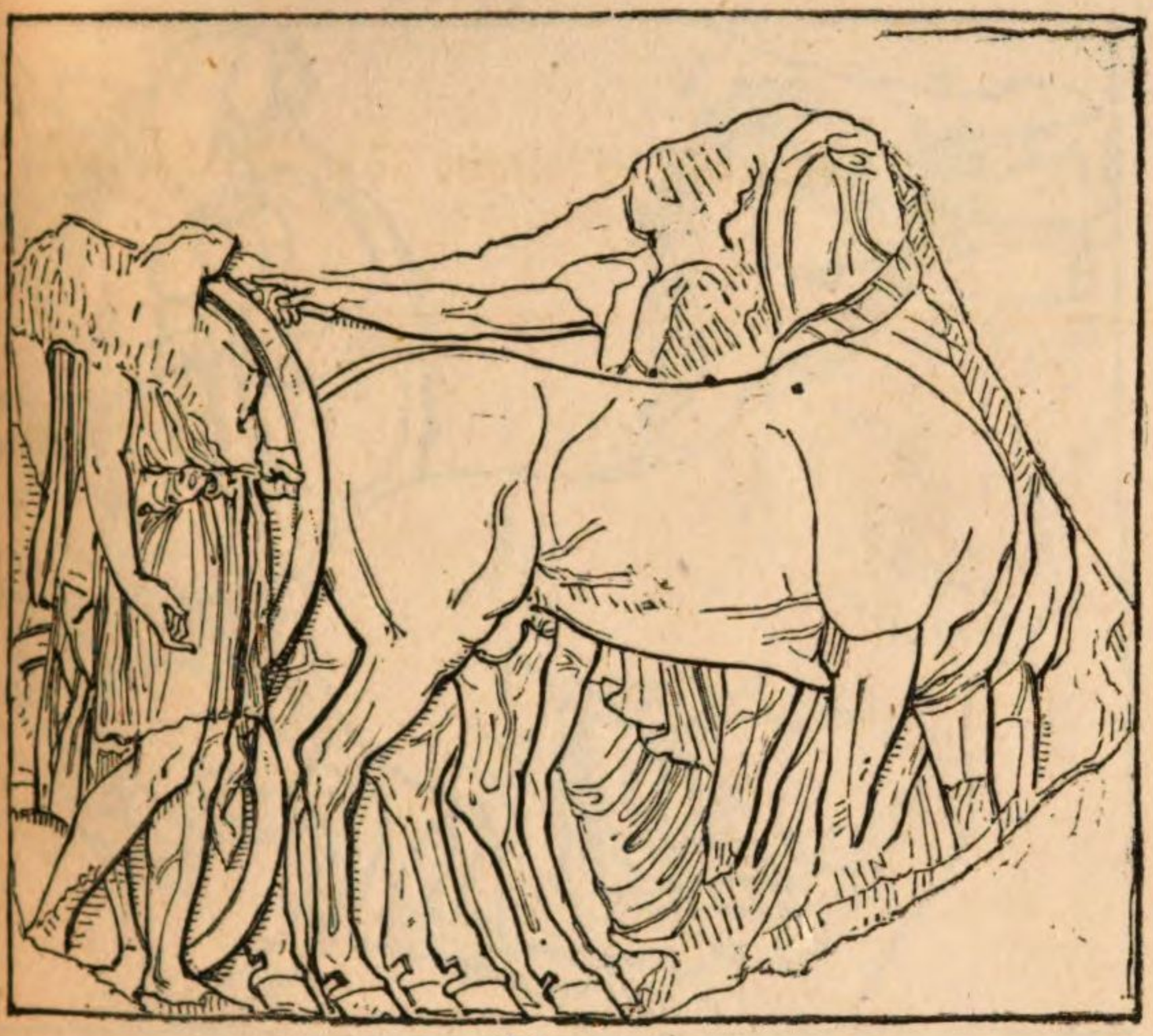
77.

These slabs though more mutilated, being similar in general character to the corresponding sculptures of the northern frieze, need no particular or detailed description.

The slabs 78 to 82 consist of chariots.

78.

The data 78 to 82 consist of charts.



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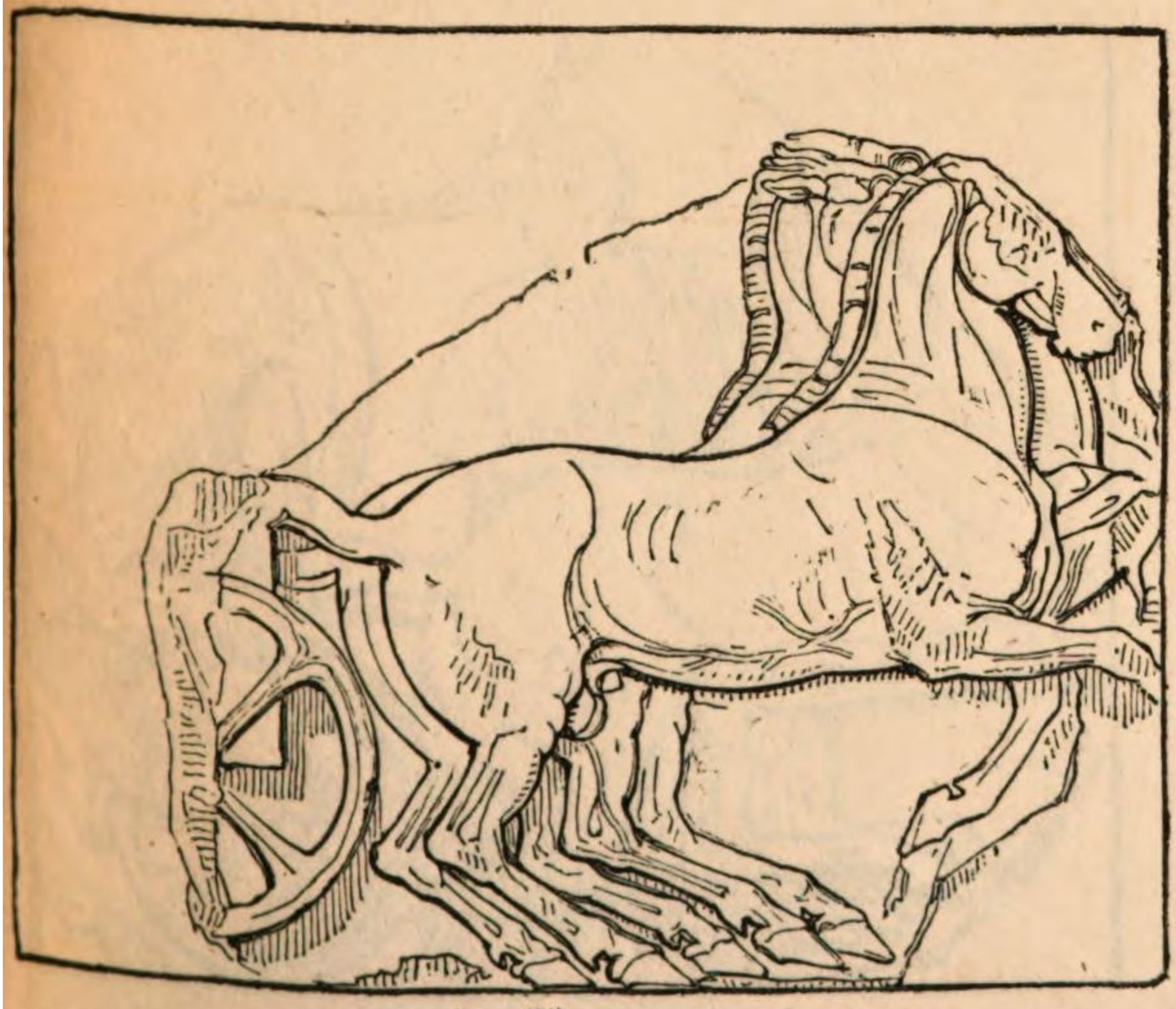

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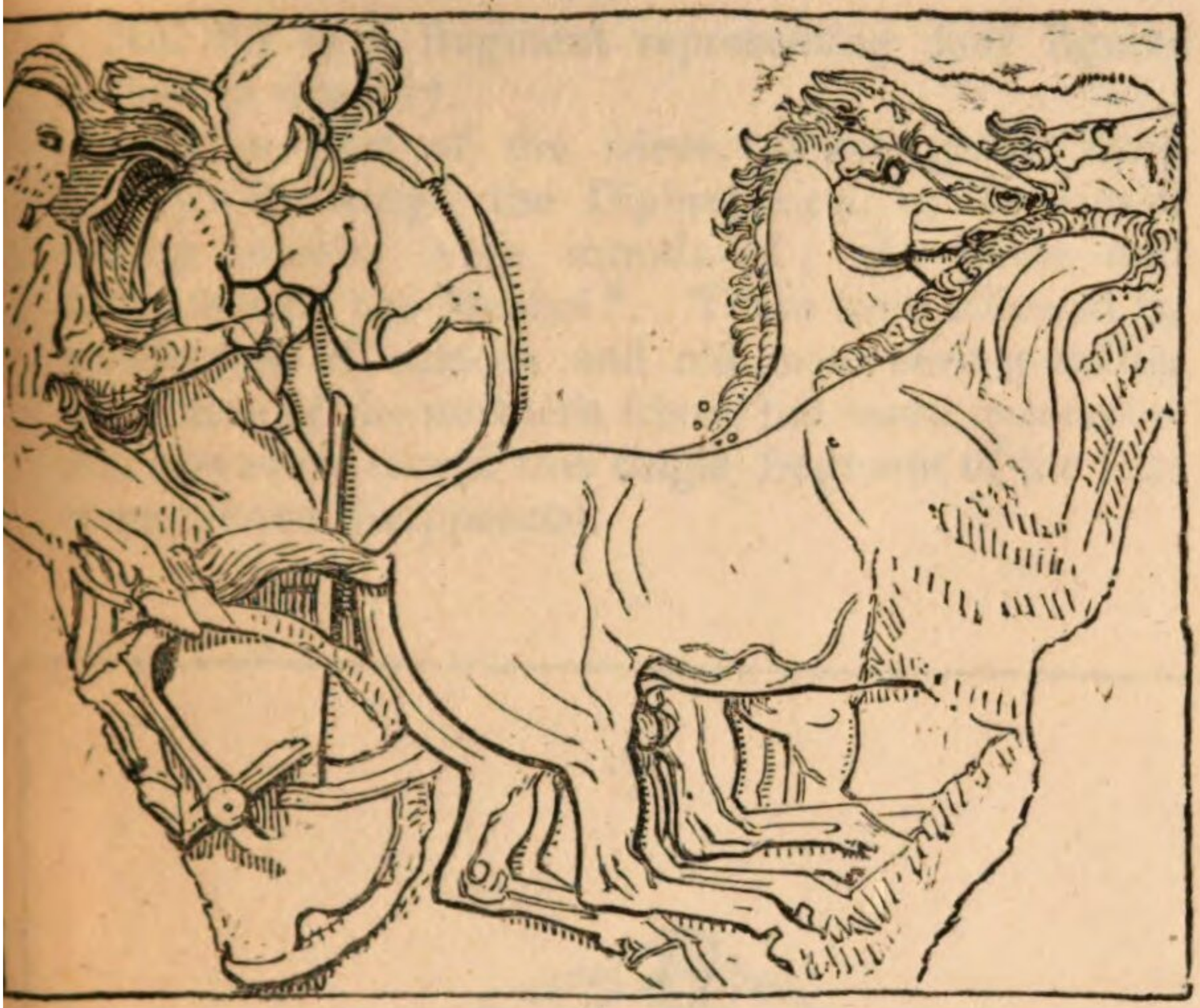
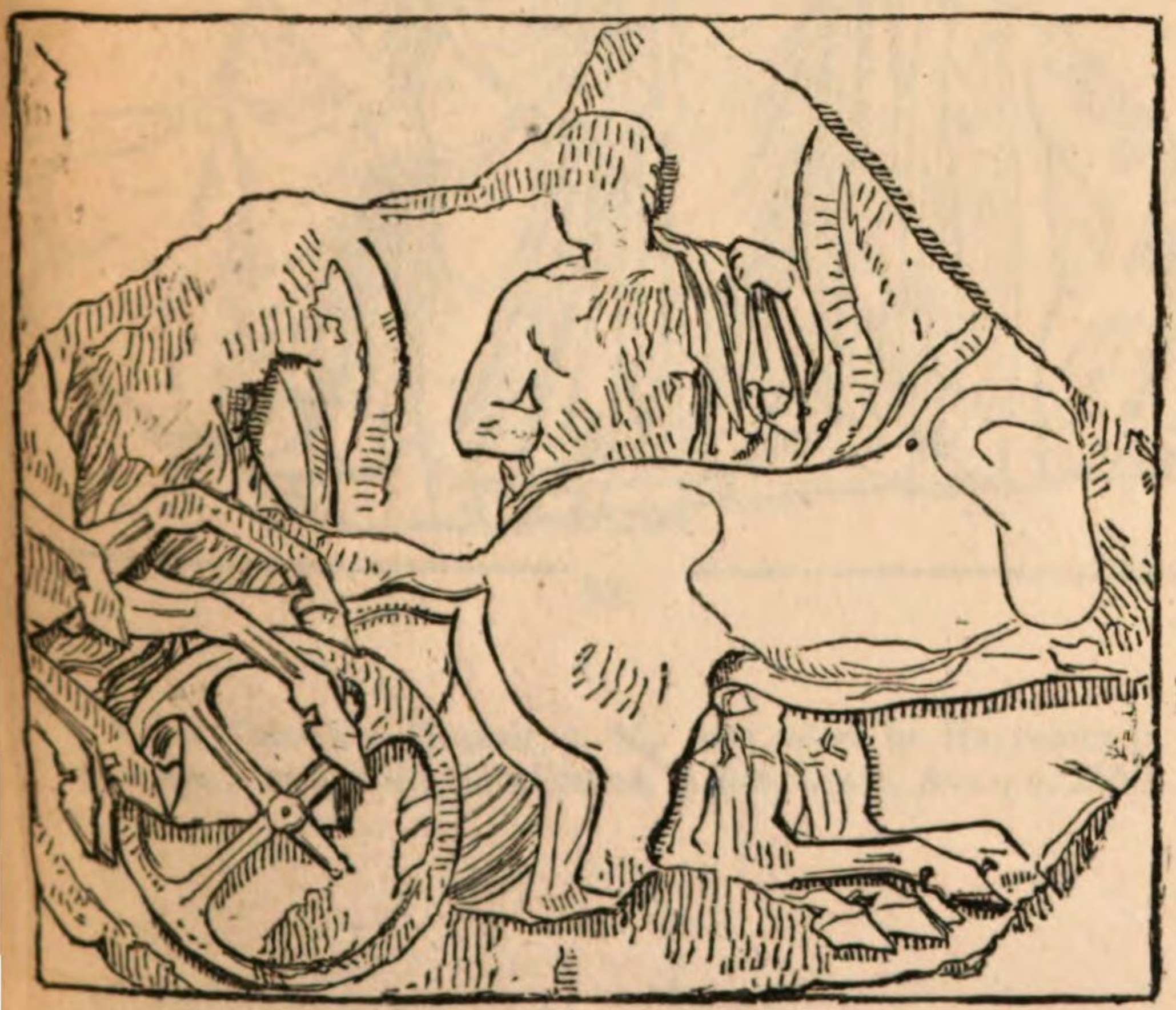
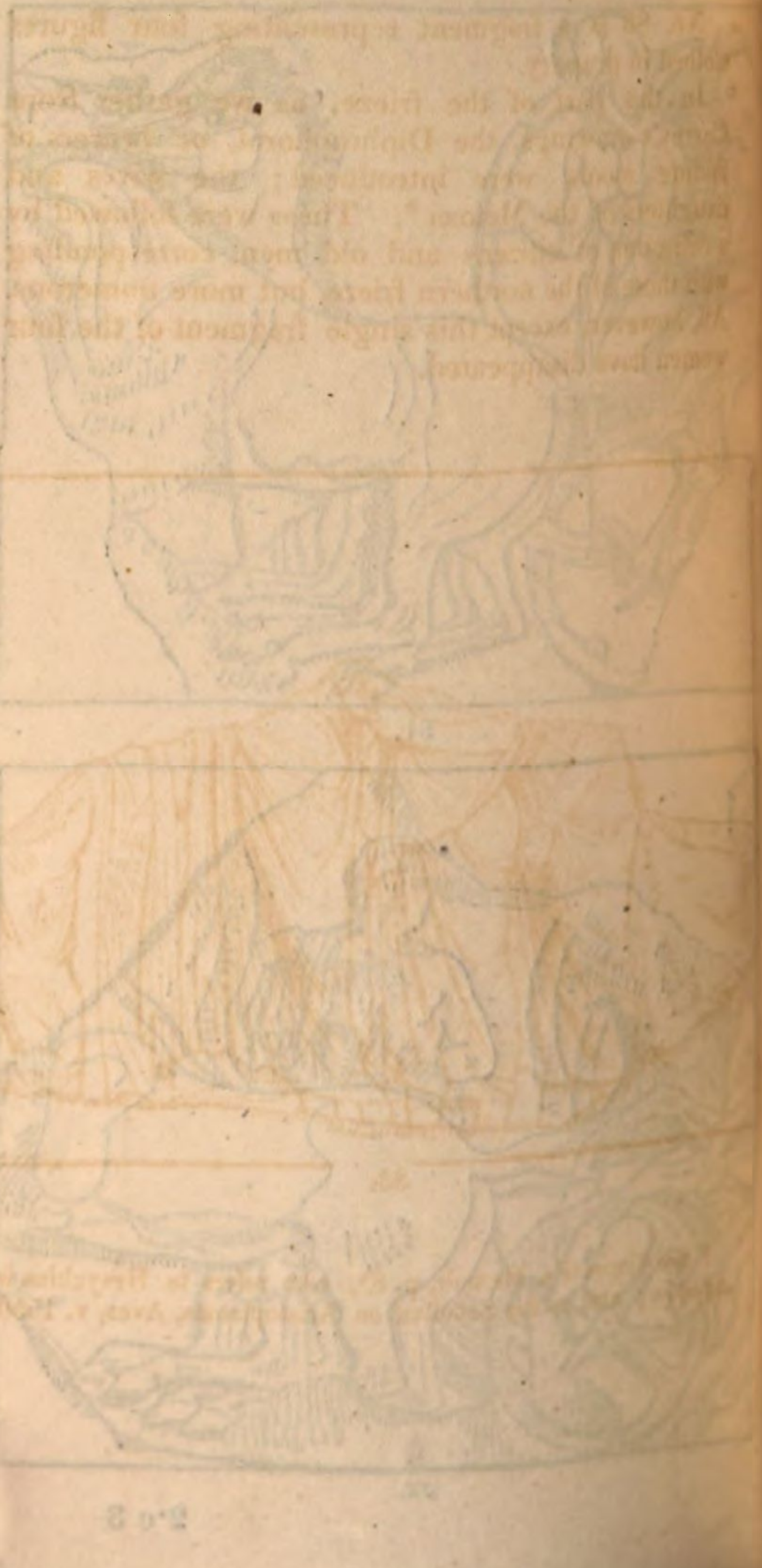


81.

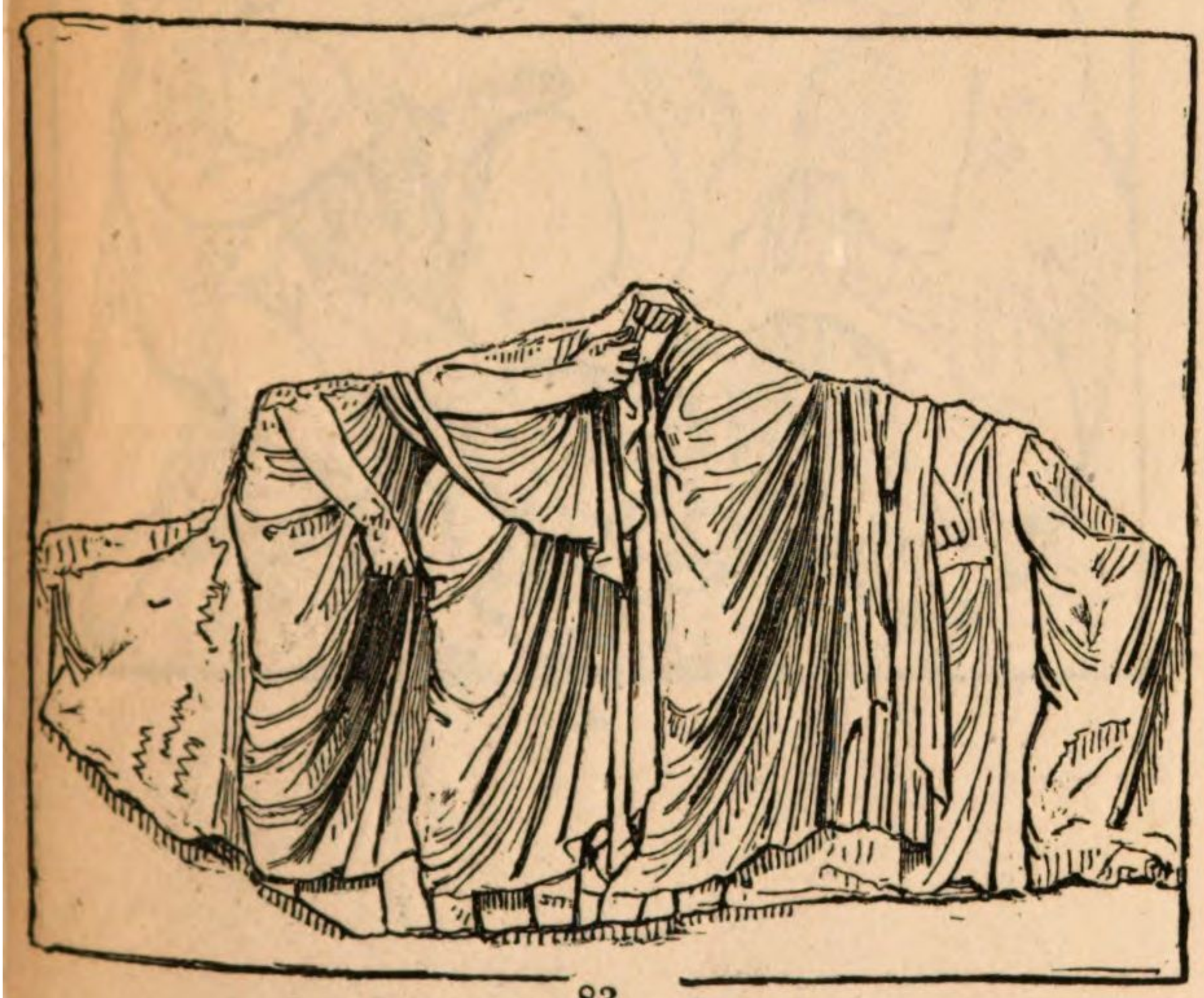


82.



No. 83 is a fragment representing four figures clothed in drapery.

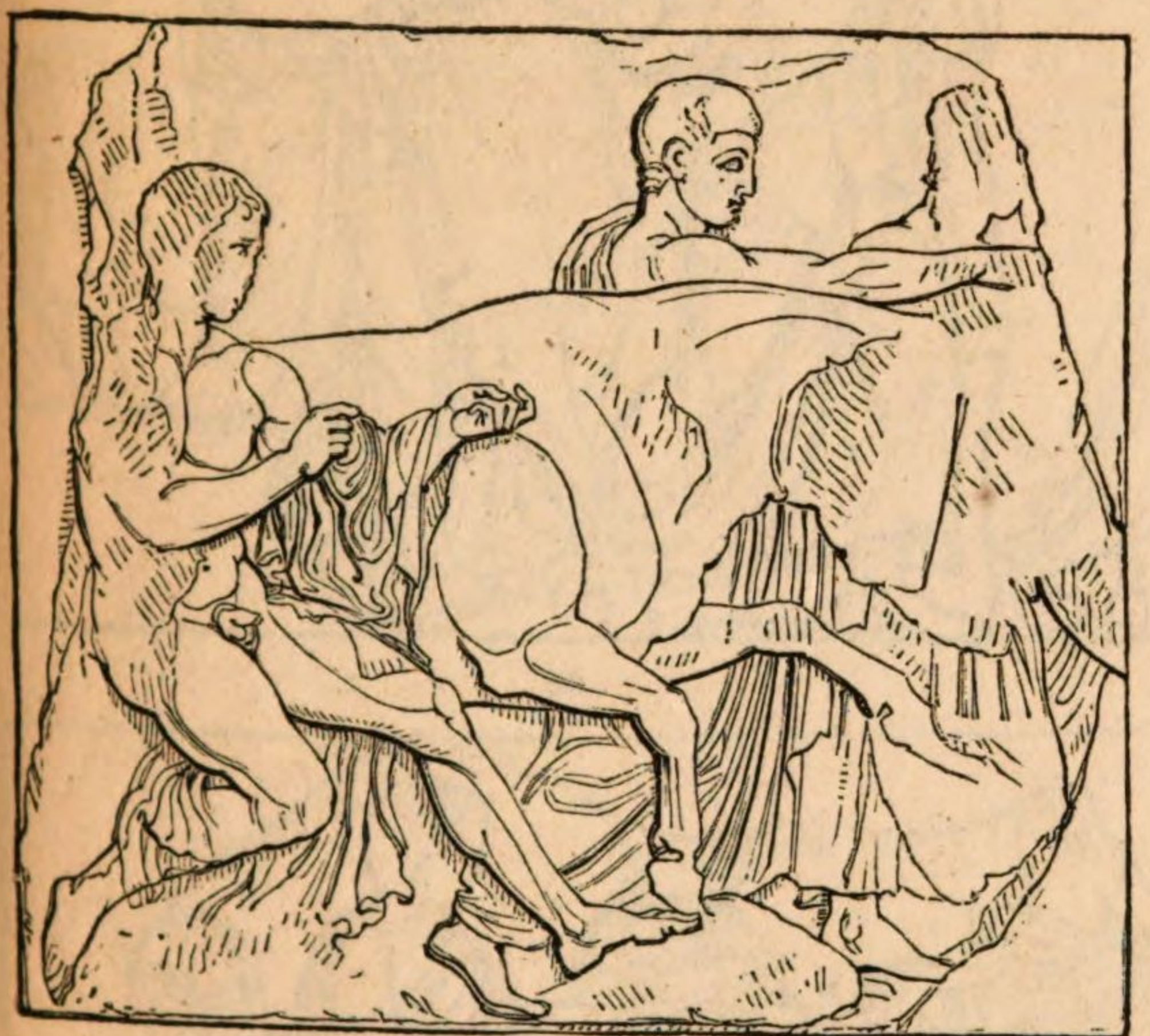
In this part of the frieze, as we gather from Carrey's drawings, the Diphrophoroi, or bearers of folding stools, were introduced; the wives and daughters of the Metœci *. These were followed by a collection of citizens and old men, corresponding with those of the northern frieze, but more numerous. All, however, except this single fragment of the four women have disappeared.



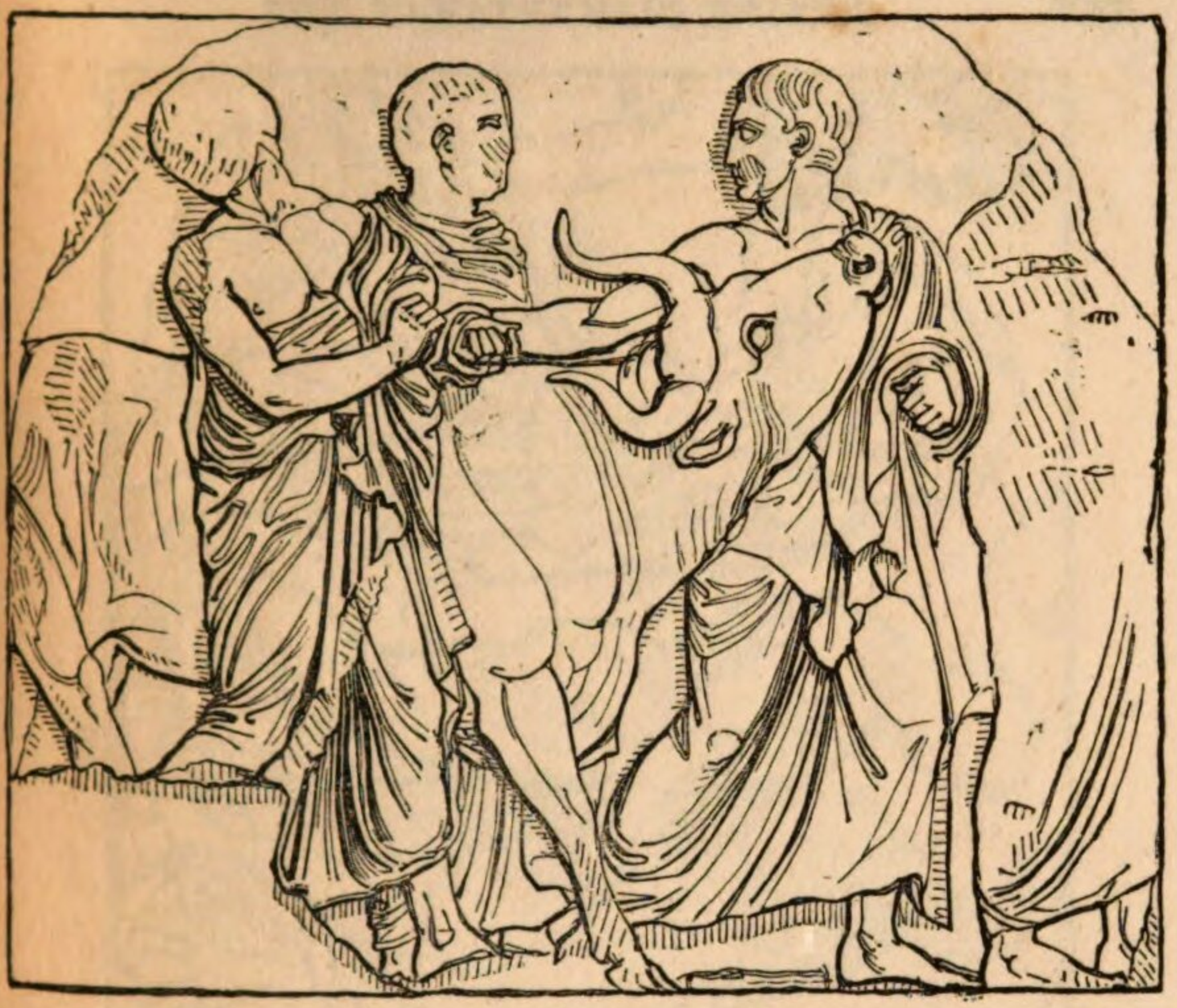
83.

* See Visconti's Memoir, p. 85, who refers to Hesychius in Διφροφοροι; and to the Scholiast on Aristophanes, Aves, v. 1550.

In the slabs and fragments numbered 84 to 90, we see the victims. Some proceeding quietly, others struggling with their utmost efforts. We begin with 85.



85.

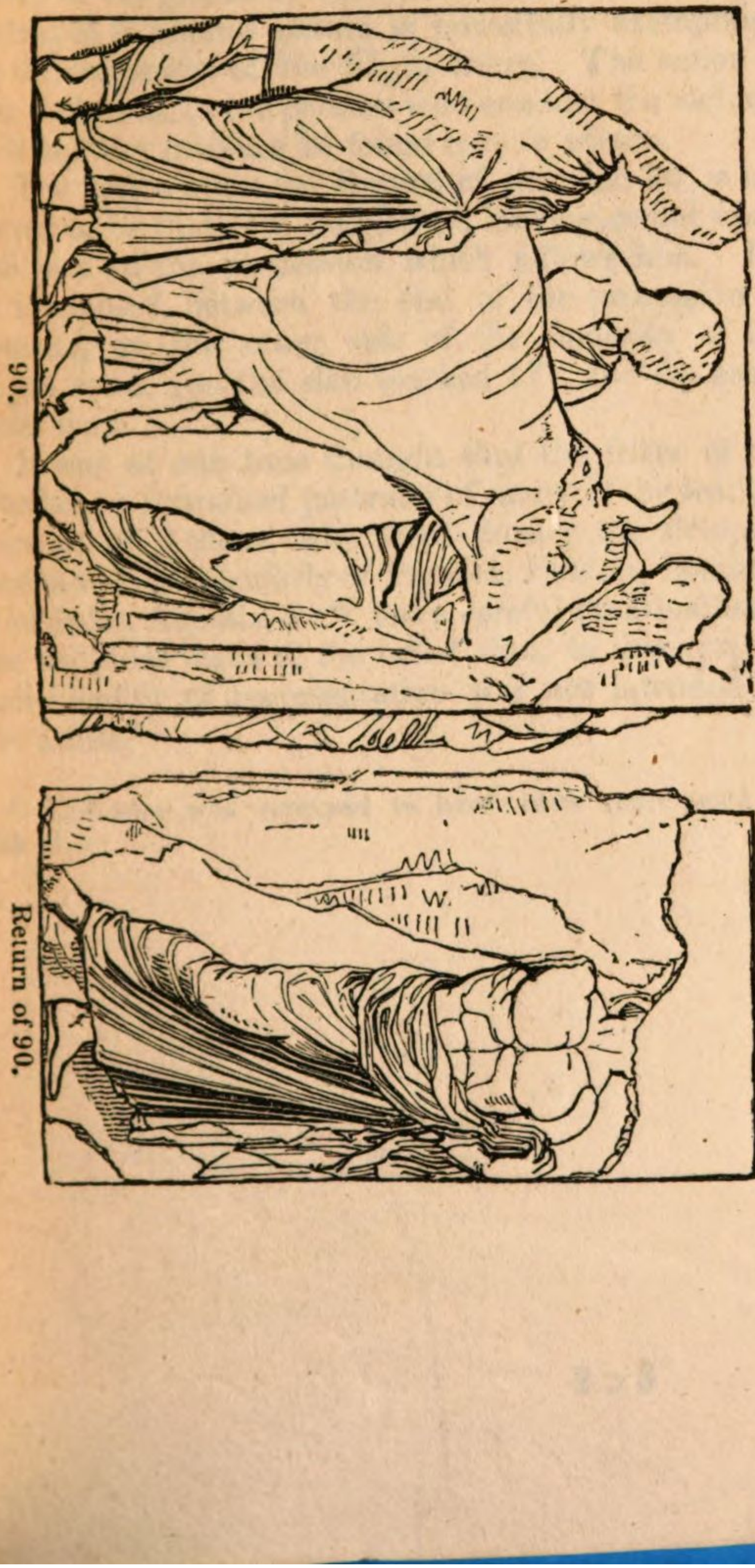


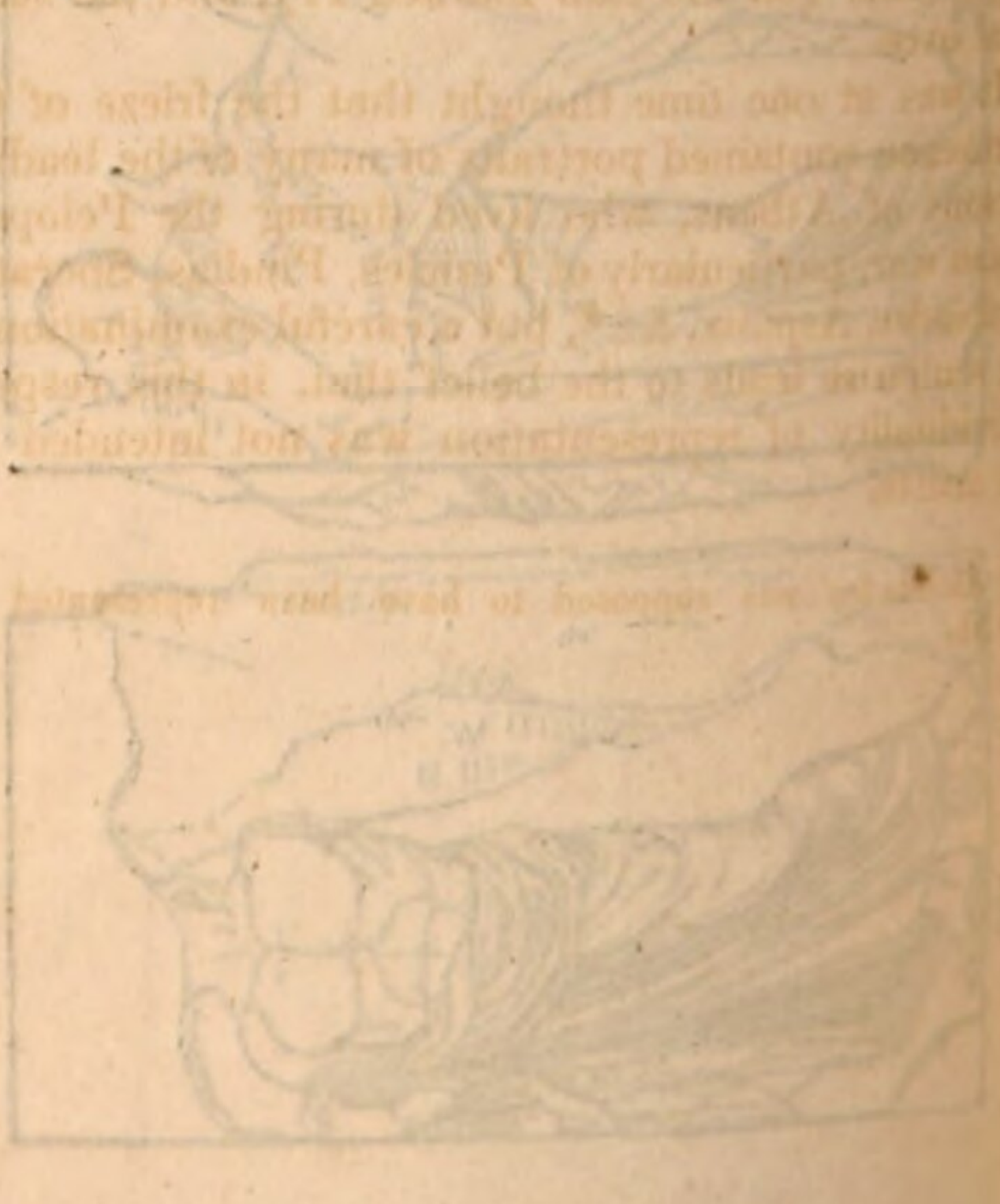
86.

87.

88.

89.


90.
Return of 90.



The oxen, says Dodwell, are perfect representations of the finest species of those animals. The universality of the genius of the Greeks, indeed, in all that belonged to animal nature is powerfully exemplified in the sculptures of the Elgin frieze. The action of the limbs too, in the persons who conduct the victims, will in every instance be found true to nature.

The figure upon the Return of the slab 90, is believed to be that of a magistrate looking round upon the part of the procession which follows him. He is interposed between the end of the procession of females, on the other side of the doorway of the Elgin room (on the slab marked 17), and the sacrificial oxen.

It was at one time thought that the frieze of the Parthenon contained portraits of many of the leading persons of Athens, who lived during the Peloponnesian war, particularly of Pericles, Phidias, Socrates, Alcibiades, Aspasia, &c.*, but a careful examination of the sculpture leads to the belief that, in this respect, individuality of representation was not intended by the artists.

* Alcibiades was supposed to have been represented in slab 51.

Chapter X.

THE PEDIMENTS OF THE PARTHENON.

The title to Carrey's drawings* of the Parthenon speaks of the temple itself as the work of Hadrian; a notion which was not only prevalent in the time of Spon and Wheler, who name two statues in the western tympanum as those of Hadrian and Sabina, but which influenced Mr. Payne Knight's evidence before the Committee of the House of Commons, when the purchase of the Elgin Marbles was proposed. He thought, from the style, that some of the statues had been added in the time of that emperor.

Chandler, who had no doubt that all the sculptures of the pediments were of one age, yielded so far to the tradition as to suppose it possible that the heads of Hadrian and his wife were placed in compliment

* Jacques Carrey was born at Troyes, in Champagne, in 1646, and was the scholar of the celebrated painter Charles Le Brun. He was recommended by his master to the Marquis de Nointel, and accompanied him from 1674 to 1678 to Constantinople and several of the provinces of the Turkish empire. On his return to France he assisted Le Brun in the decorations of the palace at Versailles. After Le Brun's death he returned to his native place, where he died in 1726, aged eighty.

His drawings, made for M. de Nointel, passed, after the death of the Marquis, into the collection of M. Begon of Rochelle, in which they were in 1698. In 1770 they were purchased for the Royal Library at Paris. For some time they disappeared, but were again found in 1797. Out of twenty-eight leaves twenty-one belong to the sculptures of the Parthenon; the seven last relate to other monuments at Athens. The drawings are partly in red chalk, and partly in pencil. Fac-simile copies of those which represented the marbles of the Parthenon were obtained for the British Museum in 1816.

by the Athenians on trunks which before had other owners.

Visconti's opinion on this subject is most in harmony with antient authorities, and the judgment of the best artists who have examined the figures: "With respect to the restoration of the sculptures of the Parthenon," he says, "which is supposed by some to have taken place under Hadrian, besides the want of all authority for the opinion, it is supported by nothing like probability. Not only the silence of Pausanias seems to refute it, but the testimony of Plutarch even excludes its possibility. In his time, and he was a contemporary of Hadrian, these works of Phidias '*had still all the splendour and all the freshness of novelty**.'"

Mr. Cockerell, in Part vi. of the Description of the Antient Marbles in the British Museum, has made some judicious remarks on the symmetry of the Pediments of the Parthenon.

"The αετοί, or pediments," he says, "in which the Greeks delighted to display those great mythological and historical representations, so interesting to their religious and patriotic feelings, formed an essential part of the whole design of the temple. The sculptures of the pediments bore at least an equal degree of importance with the architecture, which was indeed the frame and vehicle of these surprising works, and in some degree subservient to them; since we find generally, and particularly in this instance of the Parthenon, that the sculptor had the leading influence in the superintendence and design.

"The form of the temple, as exhibited under

* Pericles, § 13. Canova, who evinced the most enthusiastic admiration of the marbles from the Parthenon, gave it as his deliberate opinion that they had never been retouched. See the Memorandum on the Earl of Elgin's Pursuits in Greece, 8vo. edit. p. 40.

Pericles, had been employed by the Greeks with little variation for several centuries previously; and during a period of unexampled general prosperity and splendour amongst that gifted people, the vast number of magnificent works, and the great practice of the able artists occupied in them, had reduced the art of composition in statuary adapted to pediments to fixed and certain principles.

"The number of figures introduced into the ἀετὸς depended on the style or number of columns of which the front was composed, and was proportioned to the size of the order: thus, in the Parthenon, which was octastyle, from twenty to twenty-five figures appear to have been employed; in the temple of Jupiter at Olympia, which was hexastyle, from eleven to fifteen; in the hexastyle temple of Jupiter Panhellenius at Ægina, erected probably one hundred years before either of these examples, the same number, from eleven to fifteen, were used.

"An exact symmetry of the masses or groups, in correspondence with the architectural arrangement, was essential in the decoration of an edifice in which order and regularity were the chief sources of effect. To these groups the sculptor's art was to give every variety consistent with this principle, and the nature of the work contributed to this important result; for entire statues could not fail to produce new combinations from every point of view, and a constant change of effect in the light and shade with every hour of the day. Their relief was increased by an additional depth in the tympanum, which in the Parthenon receded nine inches within the face of the entablature*.

"An increased magnitude is given to those figures which are engaged in the chief action; the dimensions

* "The tympanum was composed in the Parthenon of ten large slabs, forming a smooth back, showing only nine perpendicular joints behind the statues."

of the others correspond with their relative importance, so as, without shocking the eye, to fix the attention more strikingly upon the principals; and the triangular form and inclination of the pediments naturally induced this arrangement. So disposed as to conform to the prescribed outline without constraint, the composition of the group was regular; in the details the sculptor found ample field for variety in the opposition of attitudes, of sexes, of the naked and draped figures, in the introduction of animals, and of various materials. For the fragments show that the weapons, the reins of the horses, and other accessories were in metal, probably gilt; and the eyes of some of the principal figures were relieved by the introduction of precious stones, which gave a higher finish and vivacity to them. Nor can it be doubted that colour was introduced; the marbles of Ægina exhibit abundant proofs of the practice of painting, both in the statues and the architecture around them, several members of which were enriched with painted ornaments, in gold, vermilion, and blue*.

"Indications of colour in the marbles of the Parthenon are apparent in several portions both of the sculpture and architecture, after an exposure of more than two thousand years to the inclemencies of the weather. The antient edifices of Egypt furnish abundant examples of this practice; and many of the remains of Grecian architecture, on their first discovery from the earth, show the colours in all their freshness†."

The middle part of the composition which formed the subject of the EASTERN PEDIMENT was not in

* "In the temple of Ægina, the tympanum was painted a light blue. Many fragments of it were discovered in the ruins."

† Description of the Collection of Antient Marbles in the British Museum, part vi. 4to. London, 1830, p. 24—26. The sculptures of Selinus were also coloured.

existence when Carrey made his drawings. The figures, however, to the right and left of the centre, nearest to the angles, are all in the Elgin collection; and though some of these statues which were auxiliary to the picture have been variously named, the general intention of the fable is clear. The birth of Minerva was a subject frequently treated by the Greek artists; and Philostratus describes a painting which competent judges presume to have corresponded very closely with the central group of this pediment. Vulcan was represented in it bearing the hatchet with which he had just opened the head of Jupiter; his look expressed surprise and fear at seeing Minerva armed, while Jupiter contemplated his daughter in an ecstacy of delight, and even Juno appeared to regard her with the same pleasure as her own offspring*.

The feet of Minerva, of considerable size, with the olive-tree, which were found in the ruins of the pediment, are considered to correspond with this description: the hour of Minerva's birth, according to the fable, was also that of her maturity.

The nearest figure to the right of the centre, in Carrey's time, was that which Visconti denominated Iris, who appears to be proclaiming the wonder which she had witnessed upon Olympus to two sitting figures: these were named, by the same authority, Ceres and Proserpine. Nearer to the angle, in an attitude of repose, with his back to the last-named figures, was the statue usually styled Theseus, apparently contemplating the head and horses of Hyperion, who was represented rising from the waves in the extreme angle.

To the left of the centre Carrey gives only the three figures believed to have been the Fates. Apollo is

* Philost. Icon. in 'Αθηνᾶς γόναι. Cockerell's Account of the Elgin Marbles, p. 15. Leake's Topogr. of Athens.

conjectured to have filled the vacancy beyond them, because in the extreme angle at this end were his horses' heads, supposed to be descending into the ocean; one of which is represented by Carrey as overhanging the cornice.

The only material injury which occurred to the sculpture of this pediment, in the interval between the time of Carrey and Lord Elgin's removal of the marbles, was the loss of the heads from two of the female figures.

The Marquis de Nointel, says Mr. Cockerell, found the WESTERN PEDIMENT far better preserved than the eastern, and Carrey, whom he employed, had it in his power, by greater diligence, to have conveyed this masterpiece of art to posterity, so as to leave little or no doubt both as to the combination of the whole group, and the design of each individual figure. Carrey, however, gave but a general and by no means what we should now call an artist's representation of his subject, so that the chief merit of his drawing of this pediment, at present, consists in the authority which he has afforded us for the disposition of the few fragments preserved to our time *.

He has supplied us in this drawing with the representation of twenty figures, beside the horses of the car of Victory. It is evident, however, that the right of the centre of the pediment had even then suffered considerably. A large group near the principal figure had fallen; which, together with several of the statues immediately surrounding it, had, for security's sake, been partly built up with later masonry. Many of the heads and most of the distinguishing symbols of the figures had disappeared; so that even then, although it was natural to suppose that the divinities who witnessed the contest for Attica would be those

* Some blocks of the western tympanum were thrown down by an earthquake in 1805.

connected with the peculiar worship of the territory, yet the description of many of the personages represented must have been quite as hazardous and uncertain as at present. The mythology of Attica, moreover, furnished too ample a choice for antiquaries to determine satisfactorily upon the whole of the combination. The mischief of the siege of 1687, and a subsequent effort of Morosini, or Count Kœnigsmark, or both, to remove the Minerva, in the words of the Memorandum on the Pursuits in Greece, "ruined the whole."

The chest of the figure of Neptune, two fragments of the statue of Minerva, the torso of Cecrops, the torso and a part of the thigh of what Visconti designated as Victory without wings, the lap of Latona, and the magnificent figure of the Ilissus, make up the Elgin list of fragments, rather than statues from the western pediment. Lord Elgin recovered all but the Ilissus by purchasing a house which had been built out of the ruins beneath the pediment, and by excavating below it.

Two or three figures drawn by Carrey are said still to remain, much mutilated, in their original position.

With respect to the interpretation in detail of the Mythus represented in these pediments, when perfect, there is considerable difference of opinion. Visconti gave names to the fragments which he saw; and other antiquaries have given other names, and have differed widely in the titles assigned even to these fragments.

Two critics only have presented us with graphic representations of the entire pediments in a restored state: M. Quatremère de Quincy, and Mr. C. R. Cockerell *.

* Stuart, in the second volume of his Antiquities of Athens, plate iii., attempted to give a general idea of the appearance of the western pediment, when entire; "not from any opinion that he

In the eastern pediment M. Quatremère de Quincy represents Jupiter seated on a throne, his right hand extended downward in repose, holding the thunderbolt, his left supporting a sceptre upon his knee. Two female figures are represented near him, one Venus, on his left, half draped, supporting him; the other on his right, Lucina, clothed, assisting to produce an infant Minerva, armed with helmet, shield, and spear, who has more than half issued from his head. Neptune, and a male and female figure fill the remaining space on Jupiter's right toward Iris; while Vulcan, Mercury, and a female figure also, fill the space on the other side to the Fates. For the idea of the main group in this proposed restoration, M. Quatremère de Quincy acknowledges himself indebted to a representation of the birth of Minerva upon an Etruscan patera preserved in the gallery at Bologna.

Mr. Cockerell's plate of this pediment rejects the representation of the actual birth of Minerva from the brain of Jupiter as too painful a mode of describing the event; unsuited both to representation by sculpture, and to the dignity of the subject.

The group with which Mr. Cockerell fills the vacancy, consists of Jupiter seated under the apex of the pediment, with sceptre and thunder, the eagle at his feet; Juno seated on his left. On his right, Vulcan leaning on a hatchet; then Minerva, armed and turned toward Jupiter, the olive-tree and serpent before her; behind Minerva, a figure without symbol; then Venus, Mars, and Cupid. On the left of Juno, Neptune with his trident; Mercury behind him; two female figures seated; and a figure of the winged Victory corresponding in size and attitude with the Iris opposite.

was able truly to restore what was wanting, but merely to show the effect of so ample a pediment, filled with such a quantity of sculpture."

Another restoration of the eastern pediment occurs among the drawings in the British Museum, which were made for Lord Elgin, under the direction of Lusieri. The figures immediately beneath the apex are not unlike Mr. Cockerell's restoration. The eagle and Juno are also introduced. On the right stands Minerva, with her attributes, completely armed; behind her, Mercury; three female figures, one bearing a lyre; a winged Cupid; and Pan. To the left of Juno stands Neptune, his right hand holding his trident, and his left foot resting upon a horse's head. Bacchus, Mars, Vulcan, and a female figure, all seated, fill the space to the Fates.

Mr. Cockerell's and Lord Elgin's restorations, it cannot but be observed, represent Minerva's reception into the assembly of the gods rather than her birth; and the restoration in Lord Elgin's drawing seems objectionable in another point; it places Vulcan, who should be a chief actor, in the situation of a subordinate spectator.

In his restoration of the western pediment, M. Quatremère de Quincy has done little more than supply some heads and arms. He has given to Minerva, a helmet, shield, and spear, placed an olive-tree before her, and given a trident to the hand of her antagonist; to whose left, in the vacant space, he has merely added an infant triton holding a shell.

Mr. Cockerell's restoration of this pediment adds a sitting female figure, between the Ilissus and the two statues which were called Hadrian and Sabina, and in the space to the left of Neptune, assigns a car and horses to the figure of Amphitrite. The necessity, he observes, of some object of sufficient weight and importance in the group to counterbalance the horses of the car of Victory is apparent; and the vacant space indicated in the drawing of Carrey clearly shows that such a one existed. Amphitrite, in her car drawn by

horses, rising from the ground which Neptune had opened with his trident, may thus have indicated the salt spring which is said to have flowed from the stroke, as well as have typified his dominion over the sea.

To the other statues of this pediment Mr. Cockerell assigns names. On Minerva's side, first the goddess herself pointing to the car of Victory, in the background of which is seen Erectheus, the assistant of Minerva in the invention of war-chariots, aiding in the direction of the horses; then Ceres and Proserpine and the young Iacchus; Cecrops; Pandrosos *; and Theseus †. On Neptune's side, next to the god, Amphitrite and her car, accompanied by a female personage who assists to guide the horses, in correspondence with Erectheus on the other side; Latona with her children, Apollo and Diana; Thalassa with young Venus in her lap; Thetis, or one of the Nereides; and Mars and Vesta, or the Cephisus and the Callirrhoe ‡.

* The five figures which immediately follow after the car of Victory, are conjectured by Col. Leake to represent Cecrops and his three daughters, Pandrosos, Herse, and Aglauros, and his son Erysicthon.

† The Ilissus of Visconti.

‡ Mueller, in his Dissertation on the Western Pediment, printed in the Transactions of the Society of Sciences at Göttingen, names the three last figures Ceres, Halirrhothius, and Euryte.

Chapter XI.

To the kindness of Richard Westmacott, Esq., the writer of this volume is indebted for a still more enlarged attempt to explain the allegories of these pediments. It is a portion of one of Mr. Westmacott's lectures, pronounced at the Royal Academy in the spring of 1831, and in justice ought to be given in his own words.

"I shall this night offer you a new interpretation of several but more particularly of those marbles which adorned the pediments of the Parthenon, and for which I am chiefly indebted to the Chevalier Bröndsted, a gentleman not less distinguished for literary attainments and profound archæological researches, than for his liberality in communicating them.

"In the first place I must observe that the sculptures of the Parthenon may be considered as figurative types of the religion of Attica, but more especially of those fundamental principles of faith which belonged exclusively to the worship of the Athenian Minerva. It is indeed necessary to mark this clearly: the worship, nay the attributes of the same goddess, bearing both at Argos and at Corinth distinct characters.

"I shall first speak of the EASTERN PEDIMENT, which may be considered in its form typical of the world; in which Jupiter, the father of gods and men, was represented in all his majesty seated upon his throne as in the centre of the universe between day and night, the beginning and the end, as denoted by the rising and the setting sun. He was surrounded

by the genethlic divinities, or those which preside over birth; to his right was Venus Urania, or celestial Venus; to his left Eileithyia; Hephæstus, or Vulcan, was placed near Urania; Prometheus near Eileithyia. The two latter gods were to assist more immediately the great father of the universe, the fountain of all wisdom and power, in producing the divine Pallas, who was represented as the supreme miracle of creation rising from behind the god in all the splendour and effulgence of the most brilliant armour, her golden crest filling the apex of the pediment. The next in this classification was Mars, an appropriate attendant at the birth of a goddess essentially warlike; whilst Mercury balanced the space near Prometheus. Themis, the first wife of Jupiter, the mother of the Horæ, or Seasons, and also of the Fates, occupied the place near Mars; whilst the next in succession, and corresponding with Themis to the left of Mercury, was most probably Vesta.

"Here is a chasm in the marbles.—It may be observed of these statues that all those to the right of Jupiter represent those deities who were connected with the progress of facts and rising life, whilst those to the left relate to the decline or consummation of things. Hence we find that the daughters of Themis, who in the arrangement follow that goddess, and are balanced on the reverse side by the Fates, beautifully exemplify the scheme of Athenian religion.

"These statues, according to the classification or interpretation of Visconti, represented Ceres, and her daughter Proserpine; and the advancing statue, with the floating or flying drapery, commonly called Iris *, and supposed to be descending from Olympus to proclaim to the earth the prodigy effected, has not been considered hitherto as connected with that group.

* This statue Mr. Westmacott conceives cannot be Iris, that goddess being always represented with wings.

"The interpretation proposed by the Chevalier Bröndsted of the personification of these statues, offers not merely a beautiful solution of the mystery in which they are enveloped, and is in unison with Attic fable, but is supported by the highest authorities on the theogony of the Greeks.

"Agreeably to the poets, the Horæ, or Seasons, opened the gates of Heaven, and of Olympus to the gods: they were the dispensers of all good gifts, and let the sun in upon creation.

"Two of the sisters *, Dice and Eunomia, are represented in a passive state seated; the third, Irene, having begun her course; but as the seasons cannot be entirely separated, her body is not wholly averted from her sisters, and if we examine well the distance between these statues according to the proposed scheme, we shall find it admitted, with the nearest statue, the conjunction of the hands.

"The next in succession, a recumbent statue, generally received agreeably to the opinions of Visconti and some other antiquaries as Theseus, the Chevalier Bröndsted conceives may more properly be considered Cephalus, and he has stroug authority in his favour. This work, it must be observed, related to the most remarkable event in Athenian mythology, and was confined only to that event. All the gods of Olympus were present at the birth of Minerva. Now Theseus was not only not in existence, but was patronized and protected by Minerva; it would seem therefore extraordinary that he should be admitted as a witness of her birth. If it is really Theseus, he could have been introduced by Phidias in compliment only to the Athenians: but whether this could on so very sacred an occasion have been allowed may very reasonably be doubted. Hercules, even the older, or Idæan

* The literal meaning of these names is, *justice*, *good laws*, and *peace*.

Hercules, was upon the same principle equally inadmissible, the Athenians acknowledging or worshipping no Hercules prior to the son of Alcmene, who was contemporaneous with Theseus, and consequently posterior also to Minerva. Now the mythology of Cephalus is not only in unison with Pausanias, but the admission of that person would in no degree affect the harmony of the Attic types or principles of Athenian worship. Cephalus was as celebrated for heroic virtues as for his beauty. Plato styles him 'the gateway of the beauty of heaven;' fond of the chase, he is described as repairing nightly to the east of Mount Hymettus to await the earliest appearance of day. Here Aurora saw him, and enamoured of his beauty married him, and bore him off to Olympus. Now all this agrees perfectly with the marble. He sits as he is always described, whether by the poets, or on vases or coins; of the latter see those of Cephalonia, leaning on his left elbow, seated on the skin of some wild animal, and bearing in his right hand a golden spear, and watching the car of the Sun with Hyperion, or rather Helios emerging from the sea, the first dawn, to start on his course.

"It may be further observed, in support of this hypothesis, that in the subject before us there is no statue either of Apollo or Diana, simply because it would have been chronologically incorrect to have placed those deities in situations where the Athenians knew by their scheme of mythology or religion they could not have been. For the same reason we find no statue of Juno, that goddess not being worshipped at Athens.

"The deities, supposed to have in their power the destinies of men, balanced the seasons. These, as I have observed, were again the daughters of Jupiter and Themis. The Fates were generally received as being only three in number, but it was both usual and

orthodox to admit a fourth Fate at any birth, who was called *Ἀγαθὴ τύχη*, supposed to be in attendance as a genius of good or happy fortune *. Two, Clotho and Lachesis, appear to have performed their task; whilst Atropos, reclining in the lap of one of her sisters, is regarding the termination or end of things personified by night, a winged female figure descending with her car into the ocean."

WESTERN PEDIMENT.

"I shall now consider the western pediment which relates to the contest of Minerva and Neptune, for the guardianship of Attica. In its character it is quite distinct from the eastern, which was consecrated wholly to religion; in this we find not only the local divinities, more especially those which related to the consummation of things, but the river gods, and old Athenian heroes, as Cecrops and his family, to assist in the decision of the contest; and it is important to observe that nearly the whole of the figures on this scheme existed in the pediment when Carrey made his drawings in 1675.

"Minerva and Neptune are placed near each other; the latter is represented as having struck the earth with his trident, from which a stream of water is issuing, whilst the olive-tree, of which there are still indications, occupied the space between the deities, and rose to the apex of the pediment.

"The chariot of Minerva followed the goddess accompanied by Victory without wings, the *Νίκη Ἄπτερος* who always conducted the car of Minerva, attended by Erichthonius, who performed the part or

* There is a part of this figure in the British Museum, in which the cavity to receive the wings, which were of gold, is evident.

office of groom *. This group was evidently balanced by the chariot of Neptune, for it is not possible to account for so great a space in the composition without it; and Mr. Corbould, who has examined Carrey's drawings with the greatest attention, finds it supported by the two figures which next appear. Amphitrite, the wife of Neptune, under whose feet was a dolphin. She was accompanied by Leucothea, or Halia. This group was followed by a female figure with two children in her arms, of which there is a part in the British Museum, representing Γῆ κουροτρόφος, or Earth the nourisher. To the right of the chariot of Minerva, and Victory without wings, is the family of Cecrops, Herse, Aglauros, and Erisichthon. The two statues of Cecrops and his wife still exist in the pediment at Athens. Pandrosos, to whose honour the Athenians raised a temple for her obedience to the commands of Minerva not to look into the basket in which Erichthonius was concealed, was placed near the father.

"This end of the pediment terminated with the Ilissus. Returning to the side occupied by Neptune, and following Γῆ or Earth, was Thalassa with the young Venus rising from her lap, attended by Galena, or Calm, a proper attribute or attendant on Ocean at the moment when she is ushering into existence the personification of Beauty and all charms; and the Athenian fable is here beautifully connected. The figures which follow are Cephisus, figurative of the Attic stream, and his daughter Praxithea. The poets feign that Venus being thirsty drank of the water of the Cephisus, and exhaling her breath, in gratitude for the relief, expanded throughout the country those sweet and refreshing breezes for which Attica was so

* "Eléve et παίδος de Minerve."—Bröndsted, tom. ii. Pref. p. xii.

celebrated. She further sent them Eros, or Divine Love, to inspire their youth with noble and generous sentiments, and to excite them to deeds of valour.

"This part of the composition, and balancing the Ilissus, was terminated by a recumbent statue of the nymph Callirrhoë, the only spring or well at Athens of sweet water."

END OF VOL. I.

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Ellis, Henry,

The British Museum: Elgin and Phigaleian marbles

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